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TRAVELS
IN
EUROPE, ASIA, and AFRICA;

DESCRIBING
CHARACTERS, CUSTOMS, MANNERS, LAWS,
and PRODUCTIONS of NATURE and ART:

CONTAINING
Various REMARKS on the POLITICAL and
COMMERCIAL INTERESTS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN:

And delineating, in particular,

A NEW SYSTEM

For the Government and Improvement of the BRITISH
SETTLEMENTS in the

EAST INDIES:

Begun in the YEAR 1777, and finished in 1781.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TRAVERS

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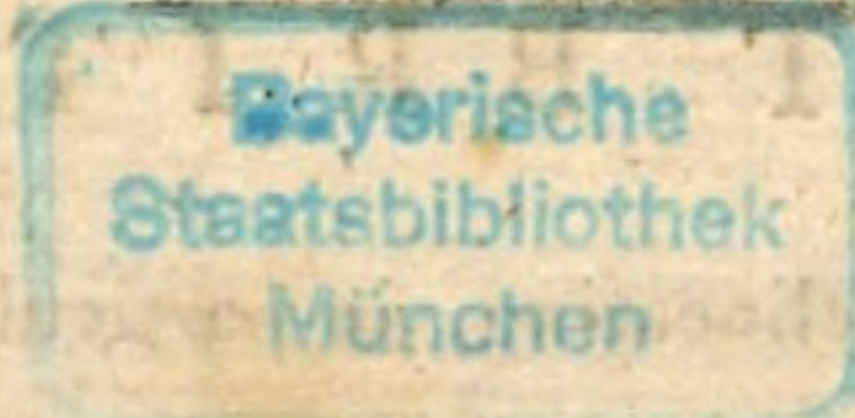
CONTAINING

SECOND VOLUME

COMMERCIAL INFORMATION

OF

THE EAST INDIES



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ERRATA in Vol. II.

Page 67. in the note, after *Hyder Ally's capital* read of the *Bednure province*.

217. lines 17 and 19. dele the words *for that of China and with that country*.

219. line 4. for *Fort Louis* read *Port Louis*.

254. in the note, line 12. for *reasonably* read *seasonably*.

257. line 14. for *capitulant subjects* read *capitulant prisoners*.

274. line 9. before the words *United Provinces* insert *Seven*.

282. line 3. for *up* read *upon*.

Ditto. line 15. dele *civil* before the word *power*.

261. line 1. for *winding* read *indirect*.

Ditto. line 10. before the word *sovereignty* insert *virtual*.

277. line 20. for *Island of Basseen*, read *Promontory of Basseen*.

278. line 14. between *The* and *circumstances* insert *apparent*.

288. in the note, for *A cofs* read *Two cofs*.

360. line 18. for *Barabutia* read *Barabulla*.

367. line 2. the same.

411. line 16. for *which* read *whom*.

415. line 22. for *Milbourn* read *Skibbereen*.

417. line 8. for *Skibberton* read *Skibbereen*.

456. line 4. for 439 read 446.

TRAVELS

IN
EUROPE, ASIA, and AFRICA,

LETTER XLIII.

To J—— M——, Esq. London.

Calcutta, Nov. 10, 1779.

THE enclosed letter, which I have just received from a gentleman who has been for several years in the military service of the Company, may perhaps afford you some entertainment.

Bombay, 7th October 1779.

—I HAD been informed, that you was sent back, in a state of captivity, to

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France.

France. By what accident or what miracle did you effect your deliverance? Or is it true, that you was in the hands of the French? And if it is, why did you commit yourself to their custody? Explain, my friend, these mysteries. You are desirous to know how it fares with me, but seem to suppose that I am indifferent to your fortune. You write a very short letter to me, and in return you require “a very long one, containing my history, and observations on this country and its inhabitants.” If I comply with your request, remember that it is on condition of doing me a like favour, by giving me a narrative of your life, from the moment of our separation in America.

THE means by which I obtained a commission in the Company's service, the obstacles I was forced to encounter before I accomplished it, with other circumstances, will furnish matter for conversation when we meet. I shall only mention, in general, that the channel through which I obtained
my

my commission, was very different from that through which I expected it.—We see but a short way into futurity: we mark out different walks of life in our own imaginations, and enter upon them with alacrity, in hopes of a prosperous journey: but before we have advanced far in these paths, opposing mountains obstruct our way, and we are ready to sink down into despair. But no sooner do we recover from our astonishment, and look around us, than fast by the foot of that very mountain which interrupts our progress, we discover some opening, either to the right or left, through which we may pursue the journey of life, in paths not marked out by our own fancies, but by the hand of nature and providence.

I LANDED at Bombay in January 1773. I need not mention to you, that on arriving in any town in India, a stranger is struck with the complexions, dress, and submissive deportment of the natives. A nod, a hint from a person in the service of the

4 TRAVELS *in*

Company, they consider as equal to the most positive command. As to your servants, they watch every movement of your body, and penetrate the rising desires of your heart from your looks and gestures, ever eager to prevent your wants, and to anticipate your very wishes. The convenience I derived from all this servile attendance, did not compensate for the uneasiness I felt, when I reflected on the dependent state of the people of Asia.

THE circumstance which next drew my attention, was the extreme indolence of the inhabitants of this country. A person of condition is surrounded by multitudes of servants, each of whom has his particular department. He is dressed, carried about, and put to bed, like an infant. It was some time before I could reconcile my mind to the idea of being borne in a palanquin on men's shoulders: for, besides that I thought that an office unworthy the dignity of any human creature, it constantly recalled to my imagination the

manner in which the dead are carried in our country. A bookseller, who is a Moor, very politely invited me to *lie*, whenever I pleased, in his shop, where I might hear all the news, and where there would be always a pillow at my service.

BUT the operation of climate soon conformed me to the customs of this country, which I found very natural and convenient. I had passed near a year in Bombay, in a manner, I must confess, that did by no means tend to prepare me for the hardships of war, when our company were called, along with others, to the siege of *Tannah* Fort, in the island of *Salsette*. Our army consisted of 700 Europeans, and 2000 sepoy: the whole under the command of Brigadier General Gordon. A battery was opened against the strong fortrefs of *Tannah*, which played for some days without any effect. Captain Campbell, with other young officers, in a council of war, recommended an attack on Fort *Tannah* by storm. General Gordon, who was averse

to this measure, and who insisted on first beating down the fort, or at least making a breach in the wall by the artillery, being limited by his instructions, was forced to yield to the importunities of those who advised an assault. Accordingly 200 *heymals** were appointed to fill up a part of the ditch which surrounded the wall of the fortress, with sand-bags; a work in which they were to be assisted by the soldiers; while 120 grenadiers were to cover this dangerous operation. The heymals and a company of foot set out with their bags of sand, and presented a fair mark to the guns of the fort, which played on those miserable porters with dreadful success. The heymals, as soon as they heard the balls from the fort ringing about their ears, and saw a few of their companions dropping by their sides, threw down their burthens and fled. This had a strange effect on our soldiers, who were stationed at some distance, and who were

* People who carry burdens.

spectators of this scene: when they saw the poor heymals throwing down their bags and running, they burst into immoderate fits of laughter. The soldiers who were appointed to assist the heymals in carrying sand-bags, persevered in their perilous journey, but were most of them either killed or wounded: a few bags were thrown into the ditch, but they were only *a drop in the bucket*. As to the grenadiers who covered this manœuvre, out of one hundred and twenty, only fifty-six remained fit for duty. Thus ended a scheme, the wildest that could possibly be conceived.—Indeed it was concerted at a late hour, and in circumstances not the most favourable to *cool* reflection.

IN order to draw the attention of the fort from the main battery, 100 Europeans with field pieces, and 100 sepoy, were stationed within three hundred yards of the fort, on the west side. The field-pieces were pointed through a milk-bush

B 4

hedge.

hedge. The Marrattas made an attempt to attack our troops in flank, during the darkness of the night, but were easily repulsed. On this occasion, two *Marrattas* intoxicated with *bang*, (a decoction of a seed somewhat like hemp-feed) advanced within an hundred yards of our lines, under a heavy fire, brandishing their swords, and making signs, by waving with their hands, for their companions to follow them. They were both killed; and presently some horsemen had the courage to make an effort, but in vain, to carry off their dead bodies. This they think of great importance; for after the body is burned, the devil can have no longer any power over it.—The *Marratta* warriors wear, all of them, girdles or belts round their waists. The horsemen have a hook, which they instantly dart between those belts and the dead bodies of their friends, with the greatest dexterity, and therewith carry them off from the field of battle. That the two Marrattas I have now mentioned

tioned were in liquor, was evident from the quantities of *bang* that flowed from their mouths after they were killed.

THE Marratta horse had for some time been in the practice of crossing the channel, which divides the island of Salfette from the continent, and carrying off the treasure from the mint. With a view to check this practice, the general employed Captain *Ferrer's* division, under the direction of engineer *Nugent*, to erect a one-gun battery near the mint. While the men were at work at this battery, centinels were of course stationed at a certain post near the channel, to watch the motions of the enemy. One evening, about twilight, a buffalo happened to advance towards the centinel's station: the rustling made by the animal moving through shrubs, and the fallen leaves of trees, represented to the affrighted imagination of the centinel, the Marrattas approaching in all the terrors of fire and slaughter. He instantly fired his musket, whereby

whereby an alarm was communicated to the party that were carrying on the one-gun battery. This party was that evening commanded by Lieutenant S——s: on hearing the alarm the *coolies* * ran, guarding their heads with their baskets. The soldiers followed the example of the coolies, and Lieutenant S——s arrived at the camp as soon as any cooly or soldier under his command. — “What!” said Captain Ferrers, “Mr. S——s, I am astonished to see you flying.” — “I followed,” replied the Lieutenant, “to bring the men back to their duty.” This retreat before the buffalo afforded much pleasantry, and served to keep up the spirits of the men; who, I have observed, in all seasons of danger, are more than ordinarily disposed to what they call fun and laughter; the seriousness and solemnity of their situations, forming a very striking contrast with any ludicrous incident.

* Labourers who wrought at the battery.

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AT length a mine being sprung under the fort, the walls of which had been shaken by our artillery, it fell with such a dreadful crash as I had never heard, though hundreds of cannon were daily roaring in my ears. It was then unanimously determined to take the fort by storm. The old *Keelidaw*, or Marratta governor, was instructed by some of our people who had deserted to the enemy, that the English would make their assault by night. And indeed, some of our rash officers advised that measure: but General Gordon set his face with more firmness against that project, than he had shewn in opposing the bags of sand. He determined to storm the fort in open day, when he would not be exposed to unseen dangers. The fort guns being now silenced, a breach was easily made in the wall, and the rubbish served to fill up the ditch. Our troops rushed into the fort, and a dreadful carnage ensued. The *Keelidaw*, who had commanded fort Tannah for thirty years, and who was resolved to defend it to the last

last extremity, had seized the person of the young prince, or Rajah of Salsette, a lad about ten years of age, who was inclined to hearken to terms of accommodation with the English, and confined him in the fort during the siege. The Keelidaw fled by the western gate, while the young prince, in the midst of thousands of his foldiers and subjects, attempted in vain to make his escape by that on the east side of the fort. The pressure and confusion of the distracted multitude shut the gate against themselves: and in that critical situation, like a flock of unresisting sheep driven together into a fold, they received the fire and the swords of the furious victors. It was some time before the general's orders to spare all who should throw down their arms, were obeyed: but at length the fury of our soldiers abated. Many of the Marrattas were taken prisoners, and among the rest the young prince, and an artillery-man of the name of Campbell, who had deserted from our army to the Marrattas, and was a principal engineer in their service. This
man

man was tried by a court martial, and sentenced to death. General Gordon seemed inclined to pardon him. Captain Campbell endeavoured to persuade the unfortunate wretch to say, that his name was *Cameron*. The man who had betrayed his country, maintained the point of honour when he was tampered with to deny his name:—"Come life, or death," said he, "I scorn to renounce my name—my name is not *Cameron*; my name, as well as your's, is *Campbell*."

THE siege of Tannah Fort was the first time of my being in actual service. When I marched out of Bombay, I felt not the least impression of terror—but fear crept upon me in proportion as I approached Salfette; and I was struck with a momentary panic, the first time I heard the report of the guns of the fort. The first thing that cured me of my fears, was the power of sleep. By travelling, and above all by watching, I was so overcome by sleep, that within three hundred yards of

Fort

Fort Tannah, in the midst of the roar of all its guns, and random shot flying around me, I laid me down on the ground and slept, sometimes startled by the noise that too forcibly assailed my ears, and often dreaming of bombs, cannon-balls, &c. In the course of eight days, my apprehensions of danger were considerably overcome. I was never so overpowered by fear, but that I would have obeyed the dictates of duty and honour. The day after Fort Tannah was taken, presented a shocking spectacle of swarms of crows, kites, and vultures, devouring the unburied bodies that lay in heaps towards the eastern gate, and in different places around the walls. In the midst of this scene of horror, the numerous sand-bags that strewed the way of the heymals when they fled before the guns of the fort, recalled to the soldiers minds some ludicrous ideas, which they indulged in preference to those sentiments of humanity and compassion which so many objects obtruded on their minds.

HAVING

HAVING remained upwards of three years and an half in the island of Salsette, I returned to Bombay in 1777: here I saw the infamous parricide Ragonaut-Row, commonly called Ragoba; who, aspiring to the *Marratta* throne, had imbrued his hands in the blood of his nephew, entrusted to his care by his brother; who had seized at once the person of the young *Marratta* prince, and the reins of government. This man's name was Nana-Row. He exercised the power of the sovereign, or *Ram-Rajah*, with the title of *Paishwa*; and in this office it was the ambition of *Ragoba* to succeed him. But a general detestation of his crimes exalted a competitor to the regency, and chased the parricide from his country. He sought and found an asylum in BOMBAY, where his intrigues, and, as is said, the remains of his wealth which he found means to save when he fled from *Poonah*, gained him not only a favourable reception, but determined the Company's servants to make an effort to place him at the head of the administration

tion of Poonah. This man, on review and field days, used to walk in the front of the lines, on which occasions he received the common military compliments. His person is tall and slender; his countenance rather austere, but expressive, and not without dignity. He is very superstitious. —I have been in company with Ragoba: he is artful, insinuating, and, as has appeared from his conduct, extremely deceitful. His turban and his arms were always loaded with jewels. He had a son with him in the island of Bombay, a youth of about fourteen years of age, one of the handsomest figures I ever saw in any part of the world. *Ragoba* is excessively fond of this boy; he has frequently said, that if he could see his son in possession of the regency, to which he made pretensions himself, he would die in peace. *Ragoba*, besides troops of his own, sepoy, raised, when he was at Bombay, a company of Armenians, Portuguese, Germans, Danes, Dutch, English, &c. these he called his *Christian* company. He boasted much of
their

their valour and discipline, and placed, or pretended to place, great confidence in their attachment to his person. This prince, or at least this *pretender* to sovereignty, had an infinite number of attendants. He lived in a magnificent stile, and was very munificent to the officers of his Christian company.

You have doubtless received at Calcutta, particular accounts of the strange and unsuccessful expedition that was undertaken, under the conduct of field-deputies and military commanders, to conduct Ragonaut Row to Poonah. It is a strange humour that merchants have, of subjecting their generals to the controul of field-deputies—this is the jealous policy of the Dutch: this is the policy of the English East-India Company. I suppose the artful and deceitful spirit of traffickers, is too cunning to entrust the command of their armies solely in the hands of military men. I have nothing to object to the wary policy of merchants; but if they cannot

trust to the fidelity of military commanders, they should never intermeddle with military affairs; and instead of fighting for an extension of commerce, endeavour to improve their trade by the excellency and the cheapness of their commodities. Deliberation and execution cannot go hand in hand: the former must precede the latter. It is absurd to invest men who are not soldiers, with powers incompatible with military service, and that subordination and promptitude of action, which alone can ensure success in any warlike enterprize.

WE set out, about 4000 strong, on this expedition towards the end of 1778, with an enormous quantity of cattle and baggage, which was by no means necessary to our subsistence, and which greatly retarded our progress. In *Ragoba's* division of the army, which marched in the van, were a number of huge elephants, with their castles mounted on their backs, for the use of his wives and of his officers: on one of
the

the largest rode *Ragoba* himself. The elephants walk seemingly with a slow pace, but nevertheless they make great progress, making very long steps. This circumstance of the length of their steps, accounts for that rolling motion, of which persons mounted on their backs are sensible, and which they compare to the motion of a ship. These animals, for the most part, outwalked the infantry, and were generally advanced to a considerable distance before the rest of the army. Their enormous weight imprinted their footsteps so deeply in the wet and soft soil, that our soldiers were incommoded by them in a distressing manner: for the holes that were made by their feet, being presently filled up with water or mire, could not be readily distinguished from the surrounding surface; into these pits our men frequently plunged, to the entertainment indeed of their companions, but their own sad molestation. During the whole march, there was a never-ceasing volley of curses poured forth on *Ragoba's* elephants.

THE castles that are fixed on the backs of elephants by a kind of harness under their belly like the girth of a saddle, resemble tents: each of them will contain eight or ten persons. In the time of battle, these tents are thrown open, by pulling aside the curtains, at four different places, whence the people within throw darts, shoot arrows, or use musquetry. In the mean time, the creature that supports them rages with the fury of war, and is impatient to be in the midst of the enemy. If by chance the contending armies should close together, which seldom happens, the elephant, by means of a chain which he wields with his trunk, makes dreadful havock among his enemies with that weapon.—I have been told wonderful stories in this country, of the sagacity of this animal. I shall not take the present occasion of reciting them.—Do you recollect a tale of an elephant at Grand Cairo? A taylor was working on a ground-floor with his window open, when an elephant laid his trunk on his board, amidst his work. The
taylor

taylor pricked the elephant's trunk with his needle, whereupon the indignant animal went away, and swallowed an enormous quantity of water, which, after returning, he disgorged on the poor taylor. I believed this story when I was a boy; I discredited it when I grew older; and now I confess, I think it not in the least incredible. Thus a certain degree of experience leads to scepticism; but a greater, disposes the mind to pay a due regard to testimony.—But I return to our expedition in favour of the murderer *Ragoba*. Our army was surrounded and defeated near *Poonah*. We were forced to cry out to the generous *Marrattas*, “we are only poor distressed merchants, do with us whatever you please.”* That nation did not take advantage of our miserable situation, but only required that we should adhere to former treaties.

WHILE we lay encamped on the fields of *Tulicanoon*, Ragonaut Row, who had a

* Mr. Farmer's speech to the Marratta chiefs.

camp of his own separate from ours, sent notice to Mr. C——c, the grand field deputy who controlled all matters in this glorious expedition, that he had discovered three men in his camp, who, *as he suspected*, had a design on his life; he desired to know how he might be permitted to dispose of them. Mr. C——c returned for answer, that he was at liberty to dispose of them as he should think proper. Whereupon *Ragoba* punished one of these miserable creatures with the loss of his eyes; another, with that of his tongue; and the third, he deprived of both his legs by amputation. The last unhappy sufferer soon died, through loss of blood. The tyrant assigned some fanciful reasons why one of these victims should be deprived of the power of speech; another, of that of walking; and a third, of the sense of sight.

I NEED not inform you, though you have not been a very long time in India, that draughts and carriages in this country are performed, for the most part, by bullocks.

bullocks. In war, the number of bullocks necessary to an army is incredible. It frequently happened, that the balls of the enemy sacrificed a buffalo, or a bullock. Such accidents, which were not unfrequent, were matter of joy to the men, who, while they carried off the carcases, would observe, with great wisdom, that it is a bad wind that blows good to nobody.

I HAVE frequently wondered in what manner the Marrattas, who inhabited a mountainous country, came to be such expert horsemen as they were generally allowed to be; and how they ever thought of maintaining such numbers of horse-troops: for, from all that I had read or heard, it was the inhabitants of plains, and not of hills, that brought into the field of battle any considerable number of cavalry. But this matter seemed no longer a mystery, after I became better acquainted with the geography of Hindostan. It is, perhaps, a singular appear-

ance in the natural history of the world, that the vast ridge of mountains, which extending from Cape Comorin to the East India Company's northern Circars, separate the Coromandel coast from that of Malabar, do not gradually culminate, as they recede from the level of the ocean, but rise on either coast abruptly to their greatest height, and form a stupendous basis to a vast plain stretching along their tops. They do not, like all other ranges of hills, resemble the roof of a modern house, but form a terrace, undoubtedly the noblest in the world. On this plain the Marrattas breed and train up their horses. In the northern countries of Europe, the soil is commonly the more fertile the lower its situation; because in elevated situations, the air becomes too cold for vegetation. But in this climate, elevation of situation is rather favourable to every vegetable production; and the Marratta plains are as fruitful and verdant as any in the kingdom of *Bengal*.

WHEN

WHEN I say, that the chain of mountains that divide Hindostan, support an immense plain, I do not mean to speak with geometrical exactness: beautiful eminences every where arise in it, but these bear no proportion to the level space which they diversify. These eminences are covered with mango and other trees, which are green all the year. I have often walked abroad in the morning in a *Batta* field, after the grain was cut down, in order to enjoy the fragrance of the newly-shorn herbs. The serenity of the sky, the genial warmth of the climate, the spicy odours that were diffused around me, afforded a pleasure unknown in the climates of Europe, and strongly disposed to a species of enjoyment still more voluptuous.

THE luxury of fumes and perfumes, is no where cultivated but in Asia. Your smoakers of tobacco in Europe and America, are yet to be taught the art of smoaking. In India, the smoakers, (that is, every human

human creature) form a pipe of the leaves of a tree that is of an oleaginous and aromatic nature; and having mixed the tobacco with various spices, light this pipe, which burns at the same time with its contents, and contributes its share to give to the spirits the most agreeable and the most gentle elevation, which terminates in that state, which I know not how to describe so well as in the words of Horace—*Dulci sopore languidæ*. Some of those who refine on the art of smoaking, have a cocoa-nut-shell placed on a stand or tripod, and half filled with water. At the surface of the water, a hole is bored, in which is inserted the end of a crystal pipe, which is very long, and wreathed in many folds in the middle. An aperture is made in the upper end of the cocoa-nut-shell, in which is introduced the end of a funnel, which communicates with, or is rather a prolongation of, a pan or censer, wherein the tobacco is burned with various aromatics. The fumes of this compound are cooled, and rendered extremely pleasant, by the water; with
which

which I have been told they also mix some ingredients which I cannot describe.

I know not any place in the world, where there is a greater medley of different nations than there is in the presidency of Bombay. This region being conveniently situated, not only for commerce by sea with all maritime nations, but also for communication by land, with the Persian empire; part of which having been conquered by *Timur-Beg*, is now a part of the Mogul empire. Here, besides Europeans of all countries, you meet with Turks, Persians, Arabians, Armenians, a mixed race, the vilest of their species, descended from the Portuguese, and the outcasts from the Gentoo religion, &c. The Turks that resort to this place on account of trade, are like the rest of their countrymen, stately, grave, and reserved; and honest in their dealings, though merchants. The Persians are more gay, lively, and conversible: but I would trust less to their honesty in matters of trade, than I would to the

the saturnine Turks. The Arabians are all life and fire, and when they treat with you on any subject, will make you a fine oration in flowing numbers, and a musical cadence; but they are the most dishonest of all. The Armenians are generally handsome in their features, mild in their tempers, and in their nature kind and beneficent. They are a kind of Christians, and an honour to that sect. The Turks and Persians are, for the most part, stout-bodied men; but the Arabians are of a smaller stature, and slender: yet these last are accounted the best soldiers. I have been a witness to their agility, and I am told their courage is equal to their activity. I saw a kind of war pantomime between three Persians and three Arabs: they naturally fought in pairs. The Persians kept their ground, and warded off the blows that were aimed at them in the best manner they could. The Arabians, on the contrary, when a stroke was aimed at them, sprung up in the air to an incredible height, and instantly made an
attack

attack on their antagonists. In the mean time, both Persians and Arabs were singing, or rather muttering some sentences, which I did not understand. The Persians, I was told, were singing the exploits of SHAH-NADIR, and the Arabs were invoking the assistance of their prophet.

THERE is a race of mortals in this country, that they call *Cafres*, that are slaves to every other tribe. They have black woolly hair, and came originally from *Cafraya*, in the south promontory of Africa. I converse sometimes with these poor devils,—for I think that the opinions and sentiments of all men, however abject their state, deserve attention.—They tell me, that the *Moor mans* are better masters than the *Christian mans*. They are sensible of their inferiority in education, at least, if not in nature, to Moors, Hindoos, and Christians; and seem contented with their situation. They are so habituated to slavery, that I am persuaded they have

have lost all desire of freedom; and that they are happier in the service of a good master, who is their protector and their God, than they would be in a state of independence: in the same manner that a dog would leave the greatest abundance of food in a desert, and joyfully perform with his owner, even though he should sometimes beat him, a long and tedious journey, subjected to the pain of hunger and of thirst.

THE natives of this country are more slim, and generally of a shorter stature, than Europeans. It is a curious sight, to see their children running about naked, and speaking by the time they are half a year old. I was astonished to be saluted by these little figures, who, after giving me the *salam*, putting their hands to their foreheads, and bowing to the very ground, would ask for something: for all the children of the lower casts, are great beggars; and they go stark naked until they are nearly arrived at the age of puberty. Their men-

tal faculties, as well as their bodily powers, arrive much sooner at maturity than those of Europeans do: yet, it is not true, as is commonly believed, that they sooner decay. Eastern luxury, which affects novelty only in the *zenana*, seeks for new wives, and soon discards the old: but many fine women are deserted in this manner; and in general, the women of thirty or forty in this country, are as well favoured as women of that age are in Europe.—A native of India, who considers a woman merely as an instrument of pleasure, would be infinitely surprised at the condescension of a good hale man of sixty, walking with a wife upwards of fifty, hanging on his arm.

CHILDREN are all taught reading and arithmetic in the open air. They learn to distinguish the letters, and the figures they use in their arithmetic (which, I have been told, is a kind of Algebra) by forming them with their own hands, either in the sand or on boards.

MARRIAGES

MARRIAGES are contracted by boys and girls, and consummated as soon as they arrive at puberty; that is, when the men are thirteen years of age, and the women nine or ten. The marriage ceremony is performed three times; once when the couple are mere infants; a second time, when the gentleman may be about eight or nine years old, and the lady five or six; and the third and last time, at the age I have already specified. Between the first and second marriage ceremonies, the young couple are allowed to see one another: they run about and play together as other children do; and knowing they are destined for each other, commonly conceive, even at that early period, a mutual affection. But after the second time of marriage, they are separated from each other; the bride, especially if she be a person of condition, being shut up in the women's apartment until the happy day of the third and last ceremony, when the priest sprinkles on the bride and bridegroom

abundance of rice, as an emblem of fruitfulness.

THESE early contracts are undoubtedly well calculated to inspire the parties with a mutual and lasting affection. The earliest part of life is in every country the happiest; and every object is pleasing that recalls to the imagination that blessed period. The ductile minds of the infant lovers are easily twined into one; and the happiest time of their life is associated with the sweet remembrance of their early connection. It is not so with your brides and bridegrooms of thirty, forty, and fifty: they have had *previous* attachments; the best part of life is past before their union, perhaps before they ever saw each other.

I HAD once the honour to be present at the wedding of a PERSEE of good condition. Of this I shall give you a minute description. Important matters you will find in the wri-

tings of grave historians; what I shall relate, will be such trifling circumstances as are below the notice of those personages, but which, nevertheless, curiosity might wish to know.

IN Hindostan, the expence of cloaths is almost nothing; and that of food, firing, and lodging, to the natives I mean, very trifling. The Hindoos are not addicted to any expensive vices, their passions and desires being gentle and moderate. Yet they are frugal and industrious, and as eager to amass riches as any of the natives of Europe. A Jew, a Dutchman, or a Scotch pedlar, is not more attentive to profit and loss. What is the reason of this? They are lovers of splendor and magnificence in every thing, but particularly in what relates to their women. It is in their *harams*, but especially on occasion of their marriages, that they pour forth the collected treasures of many industrious years.

THE

THE *Persee* at whose wedding I was a guest, many weeks before-hand, sent invitations to his numerous friends and acquaintance, to assemble at the fixed time, at a spacious hall erected for the occasion in a beautiful field. It was the dry season, when the air was constantly mild and serene, and the whole vegetable world breathed a delightful fragrance. The hall was formed by bamboos, connected together, as is usual in that country, and covered with cloth. It was a medium between an house and a tent, being less solid than the former, but more substantial than the latter. Here the company assembled after the heat of the day was over, to the number of several hundreds. After a rich repast, which was served with great regularity, we set out to meet the bride, messengers having arrived at the hall, to announce her approach. The young *Persee* was mounted on a camel richly caparisoned, himself adorned with a multitude of jewels, and highly perfumed. A number of slaves walked by the side of the

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camel,

camel, holding an umbrella over the head of their master, while others fanned his face. The company had, as usual, their palanquins. In the mean time we were entertained by a band of music, consisting of pipers, blowing very loud on the great pipe with their mouths, and playing with their fingers on another; trumpeters, and a kind of drummers, beating on what they call *tam tams*. The music was dreadfully loud, but to my ear not very pleasant. There was only one tune; nor did I ever hear another during these six years I have been in India. We arrived at a village, where we were met by the bride, attended by an infinite number of female acquaintance, her near male relations, and a crowd of servants. A gentleman's carriage in the service of the Company was borrowed for the bride. It was an open phaeton, drawn in slow procession, by four beautiful Arabian horses.—The practice of borrowing English equipages, on matrimonial occasions, is very common; and they are always lent with great good-humour.—As to the
rest

rest of the ladies, some rode on camels, some in carriages drawn by spotted buffaloes and bullocks, whose horns were tipped with silver, and their heads adorned with flowers bound by ribbands*. The bride was a tall and comely young creature; her long black hair falling down over her shoulders, and then turned up in wreaths, elegantly adorned with embroidered ribbands and precious stones. It was at that moment, when her husband gave her the *salam*, in a modest and respectful manner, and at a small distance, when she stood up in the phaeton, veiled only by an umbrella, that I, who had the honour of being near the bridegroom, had a full view of his lovely bride.

AT the end of the village an accident happened, which interrupted, for a short

* This taste is not peculiar to the East: In the civil wars of France, *Cassimir*, the prince palatine, carried off to *Heidelberg*, the plunder he had made in that kingdom, in waggons drawn by oxen, whose horns were gilt with gold. This train was accompanied with a band of music.

time, the joy of the day, and filled the minds of hundreds with the most alarming apprehensions. The men, as well as the women, gave a loud shriek, and ran in a distracted manner, not knowing what they did: even the bride was for a moment deserted by those of her own religion and kindred, and left to the care of her European drivers. Some unlucky wag had, on purpose, set some swine adrift, that were kept by Portuguese families; and it was the fear of being touched by these odious and unclean animals, that turned, for a few minutes, a day of joy into a day of lamentation.—It is impossible to describe the horror that both Persees and Gentoos express at the sight of a sow. The very form of that animal is offensive to them, and makes them shudder. It appears as loathsome to them as a toad does to an European: and you may imagine the horror you would feel at the approach of a toad of the size of a sow.

THE swine being beat back (in effecting which repulse, I may justly boast that I was myself the principal hero) we proceeded in joyful procession to the hall; which, spacious as it was, was now insufficient to contain our encreased numbers: wherefore, many of the company were seated on the grassy plain, lamps being hung among shrubbery on poles of bamboos, fixed without much difficulty in the soft and deep soil. The hall, illuminated without and within, displayed on both sides, various pictures of elephants and other animals, and also of men. The young *Persee's* uncle, who shewed great attention to myself and the other Europeans, informed us, that the portraits we saw were Persian emperors.—There is *Koresb*, said he; and after naming a number of other princes, he pointed to *Nadir Scha*, and *Kerim Khan* the present emperor.—I cannot think that they could, either from tradition, painting, or statuary, have any accurate notion, if any at all, of the par-

ticular stature, shape, and countenance of Cyrus. The artist must have been guided merely by fancy.

VARIOUS kinds of refreshments having been, after short intervals, presented to the company, we were at last entertained with a ball, which lasted all night. The ladies were placed by themselves on one side of the hall, and the gentlemen by themselves on the other. The women wore their veils; but these were not drawn so closely over the face, but that we could get a peep at their eyes and noses. When their veils were drawn back, in order that they might enjoy the refreshment of being fanned, we could discover their necks and their fine hair. Indeed, on occasion of weddings, the veil, as I have been assured, sits more loosely on the ladies than at other times.—There was not the least communication between the men and the women; no not a whisper. The men conversed among themselves,

and

and the women observed a profound silence, looking straight forward, with inexpressible sweetness and modesty.

BUT now appears a spectacle which commands silence among the gentlemen as well as the ladies, and draws the attention of every part of the hall. A company of strolling dancing girls from Surat, appear on a platform raised about two feet above the floor. Violins were now added to the band of music, and presently the dance began. The *balladieres* (for that is the name by which the dancing girls are distinguished on this side of Hindostan) are dressed in the gaudiest manner that the luxuriant fancy of the east can conceive. Their long black hair falling over their shoulders in flowing ringlets, or braided and turned up, is loaded with precious stones, and ornamented with flowers. Their necklaces and bracelets are enriched in the same manner; even their nose-jewels, which at first sight appear shocking to an European, have something pleasing,

ing, after custom has worn off the effect of prejudice, and by a certain symmetry, set off all the other ornaments. Nothing can equal the care they take to preserve their breasts, as the most striking mark of beauty. In order to prevent them from growing large or ill-shaped, they enclose them in cases made of exceedingly light wood, which are joined together, and fastened with buckles of jewels behind. These cases are so smooth and pliant, that they give way to the various attitudes of the body without being flattened, and without the smallest injury to the delicacy of the skin. The outside of these cases is covered with a leaf of gold, and studded with diamonds. They take it off and put it on again with singular facility. This covering of the breast conceals not from the amorous eye, palpitations, heavings, various tender emotions, nor aught that can contribute to excite desire : while at the same time it leaves something for the spectator *to guess* *. The balladieres

* The D——s of K——n, then Miss Ch——h, appeared, in the reign of the late king, in a dress which discovered

balladieres imagine that they heighten the beauty of their complexion, and the impression of their countenances, by tracing black circles round their eyes, with a hair bodkin dipped in the powder of antimony. On their ankles, besides jewels, they wear bells, which they think have a good effect; but which, I confess, I do not admire.

THE *balladieres*, it must be observed, are not all of the same rank or condition. It is only the higher ranks among them, who, I have been told, are consecrated to the use of the *Bramins*, the first cast in this superstitious country, that can afford to have a load of diamonds. Nor do the balladieres of this class stroll through the country. But if the common dancing girls are not usually adorned with diamonds, they have other precious stones and ornaments that strike

discovered so great a part of her charms, that his M—y said, she left nothing to guess.

with equal effect. In every other respect, their dress resembles that of the balladieres of the first rank.

WHEN these girls dance, they do not hop, cut, and skip like our actresses in Europe; they never lift their feet high. Their dances would not be suffered, it must be owned, in an assembly of European ladies. They express, by mute action, all the raptures and extravagancies of the passion of love, when in deep retirement, concealed from every prying eye, the happy lovers, throwing aside all restraint, yield to the irresistible impulse of the most ardent desire of nature. Nor is mute action the whole of this scene. The girls accompany their wanton attitudes with lascivious songs, until, overcome by the power of imagination, and the strength of perfumes, their voices die away, and they become motionless; which is the conclusion of this *opera*, shall I call it, or *pantomime*?—The ball lasted until morning. Refreshments were presented to the company

company at short intervals during the night. The bride was accompanied to the house of her husband only by her nearest relations. The Hindoo ladies were in like manner taken care of by their husbands or kindred. As to the balladieres, they were escorted home by Europeans.

MODERATE in every other respect, the Hindoos love to excess. I was curious to know what were the common topics of conversation among this people; for they are very sociable, meeting together frequently at each other's doors, and smoking all day long. Upon inquiry, I found they were ever talking about their wives; their age, their qualities, their numbers, and their prospects of getting new ones, &c. &c. The barbarous nations in America talk of hunting and war; in England, the people talk on politics; in Scotland, of religion; in France, of the grand monarch; in Hindostan, the constant theme is love and marriage.—There are several analogies, which occur to my imagination
at

at the moment of writing this, between the peninsula of Hindostan and that of Italy; which I shall commit to paper without examining them. The Hindoos were once a flourishing and powerful people; and their knowledge, religion, and laws, spread over many countries of Asia. In like manner, the knowledge, the religion, the laws of Rome, enlightened and blessed the nations of Europe: But, in process of time, the Roman empire was over-run, and broken into many independent states, by irruptions of northern barbarians. Such was also the fate of the Hindoo empire, which was conquered and torn in pieces by the Mogul Tartars.—The states of Italy at this day are only nominal sovereignties, being dependent on the emperor, France, and Spain. In like manner, the princes of Hindostan have long depended on the protection of one or other of the powers of Europe.—The Italians of the present time, are an unwarlike, effeminate, and indolent people, delighting only in love and music. This is also exactly

actly the character of the modern Hindoos. Other resemblances might be traced between these nations: but on the subject of resemblances, one is apt to grow fanciful; therefore I proceed not any further on this topic.

I HAVE endeavoured, at various times, to lead the natives of this country into a free conversation on Europeans, and their tyranny; but I found them very reserved. They often complained of the insolence of the common soldiers. The *warrior cast* in Europe, they say, must be very bad mans.—I once overheard a conversation between a Moor who kept a shop in Bombay and one of our corporals. The corporal asked the price of some cheese; the Moor demanded a rupee (half a crown) a pound; the corporal, after a torrent of abusive language mixed with threatenings, swore that he could purchase better cheese in Europe for four pence. “Well, master,” said the cheesemonger, “I suppose very few in this country will hinder you from
“going

“going to Europe to buy it.”—This was the strongest insinuation of the dislike in which Europeans are held here, that I ever heard from any of the natives of Hindostan. — I overheard at another time, a conversation between a Moor and one of our men, on the subject of religion. After a good deal of disputation, in the course of which the Christian lost his temper, and poured forth the greatest curses on Mahomet and all his followers; the disciple of the great prophet, with great calmness, replied, “Master, why do Christians curse Mahomet? we Mahometans never curse Jesus Christ.” The soldier, provoked beyond measure at this comparison, would certainly have knocked the Moor down, if his passion had not found vent in a very seasonable * volley of imprecations.

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* Although swearing be a heinous sin, yet does it sometimes prevent other sins, if not more criminal, yet more grievous in their nature. A choleric gentleman in the north of England, the proprietor of a coal mine, used to curse his colliers on occasions, which afforded him present relief from the distracting fury of anger. But as he was a
great

IN Bombay, where people of so many different nations are collected together, there is a kind of language, which is composed of the most common words of the languages of each nation, and of natural signs. Conversation is carried on, in a great measure, by gesticulation, pointing, and various distortions of countenance. This affords to a stranger a ludicrous spectacle. The Hindoos speak in a very loud tone of voice, insomuch that it appeared disagreeable to me, before custom, that reconciles us to every thing, rendered it familiar : Yet their voices are not harsh, but naturally sweet and melodious. The men shave their heads, but all the women wear their hair long. The Jews and Persees wear long beards : but the Gentoos, whose religion prescribes cleanliness of person, shave their heads, leav-

great stammerer, he had not curses always at command, in which case he was wont to beat them. Wherefore, when the poor colliers saw him ready to burst with rage and unable to speak, they would now and then say, "O ! if your honour could get up an oath or two !—"

ing only a small tuft on the crown, their beards, arm-pits, &c. &c. The trade of a potter is an excellent one in this country; for the Gentoos never use the same pot or plate twice; that would be pollution; but as to plates, their place is generally supplied by the broad and tough leaves of banyan trees; and they use no spoons. Ladles they have, made of the shell of the cocoa-nut, with which they serve up their rice, which is commonly mixed with ghee, (a kind of half-made butter, which they keep fresh in leather bottles for years, without salt) and spices, which make it a very savoury and nourishing food. This they eat, not with knives and forks, but with their fingers. The carnivorous appetites of Europeans shock them; for, the warrior-cast excepted, the Gentoos eat no flesh meat. Certain other casts are allowed to eat fish. Of the English particularly, they say, shaking their heads, “Ah! Englishmans eat every thing, fight every thing.”

INDEED,

INDEED, I must say, that I was disgusted myself at the practice, so common among Europeans as well as Moors, of eating snakes and frogs. The frog of this country is as large as a chicken. It makes a loud croaking noise in the tanks and fields in the evenings. This supplies the place of the melody of European birds. The frogs are fed with great care after they are caught. I am told by the frog-eaters, that they are most delicate food. I take their word for it. The late General Wedderburne was so fond of frogs, that he kept a frog-catcher, as gentlemen in Europe keep fowlers.

THERE is a kind of serpents, capable of being tamed, which become domestics in families, and which undoubtedly have a sensibility to the charms of music ; for, at the sound of a violin, they raise their heads, and move their bodies in concord to the musical notes. When you stroke their beautiful backs, they seem sensible of the caresses, their

necks and heads moving more briskly to the music, and their eyes sparkling with encreased lustre. It was, doubtless, in allusion to this species of serpents, that Solomon stigmatized the deaf adder, that *would not be charmed by the voice of the charmer, should be charm ever so wisely.*

I HAVE never yet, either by reading or conversation, obtained any satisfactory account of the origin of those ideas of pollution, and singular antipathies and abhorrences, which prove so great torments to the Hindoos. Different writers have attempted to trace them back to the arts of priests and politicians. But priestcraft and policy do not inspire mankind with new desires and averfions. They may sanctify and confirm prejudices already entertained; they may improve and heighten them, and use them as engines for their own purposes; but I apprehend they seldom study to create them. However the superstructure may be the effect of art, the foundation is laid in nature. It is political wisdom, perhaps,

perhaps *, to punish unnatural crimes ; and in fact they are punished : but does the punishment of such crimes originate in views of policy ? It is a natural abhorrence that first impels men to punish them : in the same manner that a school-boy is urged by a natural antipathy to kill those odious reptiles that offend his eye in his wandering excursions in woods and fields.—Europeans are conscious of many antipathies, which it is impossible to trace to any source of superstition or policy : the Asiatics, in like manner, have theirs ; with this difference, that they are at once more violent and more numerous. There seems to be a greater irritability in their nerves ; they are more forcibly struck by every object.

THE manner of drinking among the Gentoos is remarkable. They religious-

* The president Montesquieu is of opinion, that the punishment of unnatural crimes is by no means necessary. Nature will maintain her own rights without the intervention of the magistrate.

ly avoid touching the vessel that contains the liquor with their lips, and pour it into their mouths, holding the bottle, or other vessel, at least at a foot's distance. Their idea is, that they would be polluted by stagnating water. They will drink from a pump, or of any running stream, but not out of a pool.

THE Hindoos preserve the Asiatic custom, of which we read in the bible, of threshing out their corn by the treading of oxen. A pole is fixed in the ground, in the upper end of which is set a pivot, which serves as an axis for a wheel, or rather a wooden frame, which is turned round by the oxen, and which confines their steps to the threshing-floor. The grain is shaken from the husks and the straw by the beating of their feet and legs. A couple of oxen will thresh two or three hundred bushels of rice a day.— There have been various attempts in Europe to contrive a machine for threshing corn, the most laborious and expensive operation

operation in husbandry. Might not our farmers for once take a hint from the Asiatics, and try the method of threshing by means of oxen? The threshing-floor is formed by spreading on the surface of a spot of level ground, a paste composed of water, earth, and cow-dung. This operation is performed by the women.

THERE is not a more precious substance in the eyes of the Gentoos, than cow-dung. It is not perhaps known in Europe, that cow-dung is an infallible preservative against the destructive effects of all kinds of vermin. It is for this reason, that it is used in forming threshing-floors. It is for the same reason, that it is used as plaister to the houses, which are overlaid with this substance, mixed with water and a very little earth, both without and within. A layer of this composition being spread on the walls, and sufficient time being allowed for it to dry, a second stratum is added, for the purpose of filling up any chinks that may be occasioned by excessive drought. A smooth

and solid paste being thus formed, it is white-washed with a very fine and white lime made of oyster-shells. These white walls are variegated without as well as within, by the figures of different animals, especially elephants. But I have not yet fully described the great importance of cow-dung *. It is not only a necessary article both in agriculture and architecture, but also in religion. The pollution that is occasionally conveyed to their houses by the contact of *Christians*, the Gentoos wash away by the precious ointment of cow-dung. The pagodas in the island of Sal-fette, having been used by our soldiers as lodging-places, during the war with the Marrattas, were considered as defiled, and were wholly abandoned until they had un-

* When a Persee prince and a Brahmin were lately in England, Mr. Burke, with his usual generosity and public spirit, recommended to the East India Company to provide a handsome lodging for them somewhere in the parish of *St. James's*. But had that gentleman been aware of the reverence in which cow-dung is held in India, he would not have fixed upon any part of the parish of *St. JAMES* as a proper residence for those strangers, but on *WEST-SMITHFIELD*.

dergone a purification by cow-dung. It is not a little humiliating to a professor of Christianity, that he should be considered by the antient and numerous sect of the Gentoos, as a piece of animated substance infinitely more loathsome and odious than the excrement of a buffalo or a bullock.

THE Gentoos are undoubtedly gross idolaters. What are the doctrines of their priests, I know not: they worship figures of men with elephants heads, and a variety of other images. The human figures which are the objects of their devotion, have many hands, and are enormously corpulent. They also worship different animals: I have seen in their temples live bullocks. It occurred to me, that these were going to be sacrificed to their god or gods; but I was soon given to understand, that they were gods themselves.

THE Persians of this country, as is generally known, pay divine adoration to *fire*, but not in a senseless and idolatrous manner;

ner; for I have been assured by very respectable characters among the *Persees*, that they worship fire only as an emblem of the Divinity, and as his chief agent in the system of the universe.—They never extinguish fire. They will stand for hours by their lamps, putting up their prayers to God, with folded hands, and their eyes turned towards Heaven with great marks of devotion. They utter ejaculatory prayers all day long, and constantly mix business, and even common conversation, with devotion.

THEY have a superstitious veneration for cocks and for dogs. They breed great numbers of dogs at their own houses, and feed them regularly twice every day with rice and ghee. To all dogs, whether their own or not, they are very hospitable. Wherever they see a dog, they presently call him, and offer him food. If you walk abroad with a dog in any of the *Persee* villages, you presently hear *jo!* *jo!* at every turn; every body striving to be

be the first to entertain your dog. Dogs are also sacred in all the Turkish dominions*. The dogs on the island of Bombay, a few years ago, were many of them

* In the year 1743, the dogs at Constantinople had multiplied so exceedingly, that they became an intolerable burthen to the inhabitants, who were obliged to feed them, lest being ravenous through hunger, they should attack their cattle or even their children, as has sometimes been the case. This became so serious a matter, that it was taken into consideration by the Divan. That council was in the greatest perplexity, not knowing how to redress the grievance complained of by the *Constantinopolitans*, consistently with the doctrines of their religion, which expressly prohibits its votaries from taking away the life of a dog. The Divan was at last relieved from their embarrassment by the ingenuity of the Grand-Vizir. That minister observed, that though the holy prophet had forbidden all Mussulmen to kill a dog, he had not however forbidden them to transport them from one place to another. He therefore, with the hearty approbation of the Divan, banished the dogs of the Turkish capital to a desert island in the Archipelago. Several ships were loaded with those passengers, who were set on shore in great safety, and who soon died miserably of hunger. The crew of an English ship, that sailed in the night of the second day after the debarkation of the dogs, fast by the isle on which they were landed, were struck with horror at their yelling, the cause of which they learnt when they came to Constantinople.

mad :

mad: whereupon an order was given by the governor, for killing all dogs without exception. This order being known, the Persees were greatly alarmed, met together, and entered into a solemn league and covenant in defence of their dogs, and threatened to protect *their* lives at the risque of their own. It was therefore thought prudent, not to insist on the execution of the decree that had been issued against those faithful and affectionate domestics.

How difficult it is to distinguish the sentiments of nature, from the prejudices of education! Most nations with whom we are acquainted, are careful to bury their dead, and consider it as a kind of misfortune to their departed friends, if by any accident their inanimate bodies should not be honoured by a decent interment. That very circumstance, however, which, in the opinion of Homer, and those to whom he addressed the Iliad, aggravated the hard fate of those heroes who fell

fell in the Trojan war, whose unburied limbs were devoured by hungry dogs and ravenous vultures: that very circumstance, so full of horror to a Grecian mind, would have appeared to a Persian, matter of the greatest consolation. For the Persians expose the bodies of their dead to birds of prey, as the last good office that friendship can perform to the deceased. They erect for this purpose fabrics about ten feet high, over the walls of which they fix an iron grate, whereon they place the dead. These buildings are very like kilns, save that they want roofs. Crows, kites, and vultures, quickly devour the flesh; and the bones, after being bleached for many years, are at last pulverised, and drop gradually into the cavity of the building, thus making way for new carcases.

I PREFER to this, the manner in which the Gentoos dispose of their dead. They burn their bodies with sandal-wood and other aromatics. A very worthy gentleman of my acquaintance, Captain W—st, is so much delighted with this practice, that he
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has given orders, that his body, after he is dead, shall be burnt after the Gentoo manner, with sandal-wood.—The poor Faqueirs, of whom you have heard so often, bury their dead within their very places of habitation, which are sometimes huts, and sometimes caverns. The self-denied Faqueirs will lie whole days and nights, covered with dust, under banyan-trees, confessing their sins, and expiating them by repentance, supported only by a bottle of water and a little *gram*, or parched corn, not unlike pease, but sweeter to the taste. This mendicant order of *religious*, often supply our *patty-maurs* * with provisions on their journies, when, avoided by the superstitious Gentoos as if they were some noxious animals, they would be in great danger of starving.

It is generally known, that the practice of inoculating for the small-pox is common in all Asiatic countries. But there is an art in Hindostan, not yet known in

* Messengers or Posts,

Europe, by which the women effectually prevent any traces of the small-pox on the faces of their little ones. This preservative is composed of a salve made of certain Indian herbs, and a certain kind of oil, which they apply as soon as the pock begins to blacken. I am surprised that none of the Company's surgeons have ever enquired into the nature of this preparation: for, I presume, if they had, they would have discovered it; and the fact, that the Hindoos know how to save their skins from the ravages of the small-pox, is undoubted.

I SHALL, now I have got on the subject of Hindoo surgery, mention another operation of the chirurgical kind, which I am well assured is attended with the happiest effects. When any person happens to be bruised in any part of his body, by a fall, a blow, or otherwise, those who are nearest to him, presently strip off the greater part of his cloaths, and with the palms of their hands gently rub the afflicted

ed part, and proceeding from that spot, rub over, with greater force, the whole of the body. This good office is generally performed by the women, who are indeed the surgeons and physicians of this country, and who handle their patients with all the easy address of the most experienced member of the faculty in Europe.

BEFORE the Hindoos rise from their beds, they stretch themselves, darting out their legs and arms with a sudden motion several times. Then they proceed to the doors of their houses, where they sit in circles, in order to pick and to wash their teeth. They fill their mouths repeatedly with water, and holding back their heads, make a croaking noise, like so many frogs. Those of the Gentoo religion perform divers other ablutions in secret.

ALTHOUGH the Hindoos are the meekest people on earth, yet they sometimes quarrel with one another. Will you please to attend to so trifling a description as that

of an Hindoo scolding-match? Storms sometimes display the nature of the soil on which they fall.—The enraged parties begin with complaining of each other's injustice; and retail a great many moral and religious maxims, which, by that injustice, have been violated. They enumerate the acts of violence or of fraud, which their antagonists have committed against others, as well as themselves. They undervalue each other's families:—"Your sister went on a certain day to fetch water from the well, and was embraced by a Christian soldier:"—"Your father dying young, your mother did not shave her head, but made her elopement with a sepoy:"—"From a niggardly disposition, you violated the laws of our holy religion, by making the same earthen pot serve you a whole week:"—And, "You got so drunk, on one occasion, with brabtree toddy, that you not only touched the vessel with your lips, but bit it with your teeth." In this manner they kept scolding for the space of some hours: but now the contention

becomes fiercer, and the opprobrious terms of Cafre and Hallachore are retorted with great fury. As the last possible insult, they pull off their shoes, spit in them, and throw them in each other's faces*. Anon, they proceed to action, tearing each other's hair, and smiting each other, not with their fists, but the palms of their hands, like women or children. After they are sufficiently fatigued by this exercise, they part, each declaring that he would have inflicted on his adversary more severe marks of his vengeance, if he did not consider himself as much polluted by touching him, as he would be by coming in contact with a *sow* or a *Christian*.

I NEVER beheld so striking a proof of the influence of food on animal constitutions, as in the battles of dogs in this

* It should be observed, that when the Gentoos enter their temples, or the apartments of any great man, they pull off their shoes, and leave them at the door. As appearing in your presence without shoes, is the greatest mark of respect; so to throw one's shoe in his neighbour's face, is the very last mark of contempt.

country.

country. The dogs of such of the natives as feed them only with rice and ghee, are no more a match for the dogs that are bred by the English, though of the same species, than one of these would be a match for a lion. Our soldiers take great delight in promoting fights between their dogs and those of the Hindoos, which is a very cruel entertainment.

It will not surprise one, who knows the resolution of Hindoo women in burning with their husbands, to be told, that there is at present in Bombay, a woman, a native of *Mangalore* *, who, assuming the habit of a man, enlisted in a company of sepoy, in order to have a chance of meeting with her sweetheart, who had enlisted in our service in the last war. After having been in one or two engagements, in which she displayed a manly courage, she found her lover, to whom she made herself known, and became his wife. The wives of the

* Hyder Ally's capital.

heymals, as well as their husbands, follow the employment of porters, and are kept to their labour as well as the men, by the terror of a scourge. The constancy and heroism of this lady, has been rewarded by an appointment to the office of overseer of the wives of the *coolies*. I have seen her with her *rattan* in her hand, acting in the capacity of a female serjeant.

THERE have been frequent instances of the daughters of Moors and Persees marrying, with the consent of their parents, European gentlemen; but I do not know, that ever an European married a Gentoo. The ladies, I believe, might sometimes be prevailed on to sacrifice religious prejudices to the power of all-conquering love, if they were not restrained by the authority of their parents.—Lieutenant L—th, happening to walk abroad in the suburbs of Bombay, perceived a very beautiful lady looking from a window of a house, one of the walls of which almost touched that of the garden in which it was enclosed.

closed. He stopped to contemplate her charms; which the lady perceiving, she instantly withdrew into her apartments. Mr. L—th kept his ground, in hopes that his charmer would appear again at the window: nor were his hopes deceived; for, whether from curiosity, the vanity of being admired, or the dawn of a passion similar to that which began to fire the lieutenant, she approached the window again, but without looking out, as she had done before. Her admirer bowed respectfully, and endeavoured, by natural signs, to make her sensible of the tender emotions which she had inspired. How eloquent is nature, even unassisted by the power of speech! The lady seemed to comprehend his meaning; for after darting a short glance, which did not express either aversion or contempt, she shook her head, and forthwith retired. The lieutenant, who could think on nothing but this scene, repaired to the same spot next day, at the same hour. After waiting for some time, the lady happened again to look out at

the window; and the same mute expression was renewed, which had passed the day before, but longer continued.

ALTHOUGH the East India Company make a considerable addition to the pay of such officers in their service as understand the language of the natives, Mr. L—th, who is by no means a lover of money, had never given himself the trouble of acquiring it: but now, to the surprise of all his acquaintance, he became a great student, and his only companion was *Richardson's Persian Dictionary*. He soon acquired as much Persian, as enabled him to express in words, what he endeavoured to communicate to his angel by the language of nature. In the mean time, his visits were regularly repeated, and the lady did not fail to give him audience. The time of meeting was changed from day to night, whose silent shade is favourable at once to the success of lovers, and the delicacy of their passion. Mr. L—th and his Gentoo fair one, now glowing with a mutual

mutual flame, exchanged the sentiments of their hearts, at a distance from each other, like Pyramus and Thisbe, but met with a kinder fate: for the lady, having arrayed herself in her richest robes, adorned with all her jewels, at the hour of midnight threw herself, by means adapted to the delicacy of her frame, into the arms of her lover; thus bidding an eternal adieu to her father's house, her kindred, and religion. The father of this young woman made grievous complaints to the governor of Bombay, of the conduct of Mr. L—th, who, he affirmed, had degraded his daughter below the rank of an Hallachore, and brought an indelible disgrace on his family. In short, he prayed, that, as some reparation to the dignity of his house, Lieutenant L—th might be dismissed from the Company's service.

THE governor replied, that if Mr. L—th had used either fraud or violence, in order to carry off his daughter, not only would the Company have discarded him

him from their service, but the British laws would have inflicted severer punishments: but since it appeared, that what had happened was with the lady's consent, it was incompetent to him or the British government, to stigmatize, in any shape, the lieutenant's conduct.—Mrs. L—th has for ever lost the regard of her family; but that circumstance only serves to endear her the more to the heart of an affectionate and generous husband.—

On looking back to the date when I began to write this letter, I find it has furnished employment for my leisure hours for five days.—I might give you a great deal more of this bagatelle, but the patty-maur sets out for Calcutta to-morrow.

I am, &c. &c.

LETTER

LETTER XLIV.

To J— M—, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Nov. 18, 1779.

IF the British nation would derive all the advantages from the soil of Hindostan, and the ingenuity of the natives, which they are capable of yielding, they must resolve to treat the Hindoos, not as slaves or inferior animals, but as fellow-men, entitled to protection, liberty, and justice. These alone inspire those habits of industry, which are the life of commerce. The misery and desolation which have been occasioned by tyranny and injustice, will at last open the eyes of oppressors, and expose to their view the folly as well as the enormity of their crimes. But it is not less disgraceful to the English, than it is unfortunate for the Hindoos, that Justice, if

if she make her appearance at all, will come too late; and that liberty will not be the voluntary offering of generosity, but a tribute to self-interest, taught by long experience the pernicious consequences of oppression, even to oppressors.

A PEOPLE enjoying, like the English, the blessings of liberty themselves, should be the last in the world to impose slavery on others: but the history of the world sufficiently proves, that the freest governments have been the severest masters to their dependents; so little influence in public as well as in private conduct, has that just maxim in morality, "To do unto others whatever, in their situation, we should think reasonable in them to do to us." But, as in private life, experience evinces, that virtue leads to happiness, and vice to misery; so, it is to be hoped, will the ruinous consequences of oppression, teach the governors of kingdoms the wisdom of political justice. The time, I hope, is not far distant, when the natives
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of India, who have so long languished under slavery, will have reason to assume for their motto,

“*Libertas, quæ fera tamen resperit inertem.*”

THE most important point which the legislature of Britain will have to settle in Hindostan, when they shall come to make new arrangements in that country, will be, the tenure of territorial property.—Give me leave to propose to your consideration, and through you, Sir, to the consideration of such of our friends as are particularly interested in the affairs of India, the following thoughts on this subject.

ALL nations who acknowledge subjection to a supreme head, whether this submission hath been acquired by conquest, or yielded by compact, have committed a *virtual* property of the whole soil of the country *in reversion*, to the sovereign power; to the end, that this ideal vestiture may render the actual possessor amenable to the established laws of the community, and the property

property itself feudatory, and chargeable with such burthens and taxes, being equitably apportioned, as the public exigencies may require: but in every other view, the real property of the soil is vested in the possessor, according to the particular conditions on which the lands were originally conceded to the individual members of the community, or declared in formal compacts between the state and its subjects. No consideration whatever should be suffered, directly or indirectly, to invade the fundamental laws of the constitution, provided that the preservation of the constitution itself does not render certain alterations in these laws indispensably necessary. I say, directly or *indirectly*; because innovations acquiesced in, are converted into precedents, and precedents established in laws. The evils arising thence cannot be remedied without violence; and the restoration of good order must necessarily be preceded by anarchy and bloodshed; for the sovereign power gradually assumes greater prerogatives than originally belonged

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ed to it, and, its invasions and influence reciprocally stimulating and strengthening each other, tyranny seizes the reins of government, and rules with a rod of iron, until the people, reduced to extremities, are forced, in self-defence, to assert their constitutional and natural rights, thus blended together, which is only to be effected by the death of the tyrant.

THE Hindoo constitution, on principles of the soundest policy, was continued unaltered even after the Mogul conquest, and during the several successive stages of that government in Hindostan. But the Mogul empire was shaken into pieces by the bold ambition of subordinate princes, who at once departed from their allegiance to the emperor of *Delhi*, and exercised on their subjects the most wanton cruelties; to which cruelties their own lives, for the most part, fell sacrifices.

MIRACULOUS successes in the field, and the gratitude of the emperor, lavished
without

without bounds or measure, have raised the English East India Company to the dominion of a vast extent of territory, and over twice the number of inhabitants contained in Great Britain, as well as the high prerogative of being arbiters of all Hindostan. But instead of improving these advantages, they have in reality converted them into disadvantages: for, intoxicated by a flow of prosperity that they neither deserved nor were able to bear, they abandoned themselves to the government of passion; subverted the original constitution of the country subjected to their power; and perplexed it with a composition of law and form, as little known to the British constitution, as that into which they have violently incorporated it. The immediate effect of so fatal an error, was the depopulation of those flourishing countries whence they drew their greatest wealth. Several fertile tracts were laid wholly waste; agriculture, manufactures, industry of every kind, were everywhere discountenanced; and oppression, in
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all its dreadful forms, not only connived at, but encouraged. Incessant acts of public injustice and private outrage perpetrated with impunity, have excited all the powers of India into a confederacy against English usurpations, treachery, and breach of public faith ; and taught the natives the art of war, and the use of arms.—Arms not inferior to those of Europe, are now manufactured in the very heart of Hindostan.

I OBSERVED, in a former letter, that many of the Hindoo tribes, most or all the descendants of Moors, and the numerous emigrants from Persia and its borders, are brave and cool in battle. Having the same weapons, and being under equal discipline, they may, doubtless, become a match for their countrymen, serving in the army of the Company. The want of European auspices may be compensated by numbers, perhaps by the invincible spirit of liberty and genuine patriotism. These are serious objects of consideration.

consideration. An inattention to these things has already produced the most alarming disadvantages in trade, and disappointments in revenue, and seems, indeed, to threaten the extinction of the present East India Company.

IN order to remedy these evils, and avert that danger, justice and sound policy should go hand-in-hand, to convince the people of India, that however corrupt the practices of British emigrants, the regular administration of justice at home was still maintained in its full vigour;—that however the streams may have contracted pollution in the length of their course, the British fountain was yet pure; and that the abuses in India sprung from the concealed evil measures of the Company's principal servants, an unwarranted misapplication of power, consequent misrepresentations of facts and circumstances, and distance of place, which, until now, had shut up the avenues to truth.

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A GENTLEMAN of the most distinguished abilities, and a trusty servant to the East India Company, has devoted as much of his time and study, as the avocations of duty would allow, to a thorough investigation of Hindostan tenures, and of the most effectual means of restoring to that paradise of nations its former splendor. The result of his honest and diligent researches he communicated to the Court of Directors in that easy, fluent, and convincing strain, which characterises him as a writer as well as a speaker; for which, I have been informed, he received their warmest acknowledgments. It is said, that he modestly reprobated the measures heretofore pursued, in general terms, some of which, however, were pretty pointed; and that his own plans are founded on principles of justice and benevolence towards the natives, whose rights and political constitution he wishes to preserve inviolate, gently tempered with such innovations only as tend to protect liberty and property, and to procure a fixed revenue

to the British nation, and a beneficial trade to the India Company. After so able a man has reduced his observations on the present state of India to a system for its future settlement, it may appear presumptuous in one of inferior abilities and less knowledge, to enter upon the same subject. But as the paper which that gentleman submitted to his employers, and through them to government, has not yet transpired, I solicit his permission to make a few short observations on the same matters which he has treated; at the same time that I confess the flattering pleasure I should feel, if my ideas should be found in general to coincide with those of Mr. Francis.—In the mean time,

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XLV.

To J—M—, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Nov. 21, 1779.

EVEN Mr. Hastings, while his judgment was directed by his innate feelings, and before the noblest passions of the human heart were superseded by principles of a less honourable nature, favoured, in the strongest terms, the idea of indulging the natives of Hindostan in the enjoyment of their original constitution, as essential to the security and prosperity of the Company's possessions and trade. This system he recommended by the most convincing arguments, in a letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 24th of March 1774, accompanying the translation

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of the two first sections of the Gentoo laws*.

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• *Abstract from Mr. Hastings's Letter.*

“From the labours of a people, however intelligent, whose studies have been confined to the narrow circle of their own religion, and the decrees founded upon its superstitions; and whose discussion, in the search of truth, have wanted that lively aid, which it can only derive from a free exertion of the understanding, and an opposition of opinions; a perfect system of jurisprudence is not to be expected.

“Yet if it shall be found to contain nothing hurtful to the authority of government, or to the interests of society, and is consonant to the manners, ideas, and inclinations, of the people for whose use it is intended, I presume, that on these grounds, it will be preferable to any which even a superior wisdom could constitute in its room.

“It is from this conviction, and from an apprehension of the effects which a contrary opinion might produce, that I have been so earnest in transmitting these sheets for your information; as they will afford, at least, a proof that the people of this country do not require our aid to furnish them with a rule for their conduct, or a standard for their property.

“I have ventured to say thus much on a subject which may possibly appear to have been irregularly obtruded upon your notice, because reports have a long time prevailed, and been communicated to us by the best of

private

IF this mild and wise system shall be adopted, it will be necessary, in the first place,

private authority, of an intention to frame new courts and forms of judicature for the inhabitants of these provinces.

Whatever foundation these reports may have in truth, or whatever may be the extent or principles of the jurisdiction herein supposed, *I cannot but express my hope, that nothing of this kind may be finally concluded*, without an opportunity being given to the members of your administration, to communicate such ideas as their experience may suggest to them; and this I conceive to be my duty, from the consideration of the hurtful effects which an unadvised system might possibly produce, to the quiet of the people, and the security of your revenue."

In the Sections of Gentoo laws referred to by Mr. Hastings, are some passages which do ample justice to the sentiments and opinions which he expressed and recommended.—Under the head of *security for debts*, the principles are literally conformable to the common law of England, and strictly consonant to equity in Sect. III. par. 123 and 4.—So par. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 13. 14. are novel to the English constitution, but remarkably just and equitable: the 15th par. distinguishes the very wise spirit of their institutions: viz.

"A man shall not accept for security, a person totally unknown to him; his own master; an enemy; a prisoner; a very old man; a partner living in the same family; a friend, or a pupil."—

place, to fix a constitutional head or sovereignty over Hindostan, as I have observed in a former letter. Without this, no line of polity can be pursued, either with propriety or security.

THE several branches which compose the landed revenue, should be reduced to a plain system, and made intelligible even

Section IV. On discharging debts to whomsoever due, par. 21. it ordains that,

“If a man dies, having incurred debts by gambling or
 “by drinking spirituous liquors, his son shall not
 “discharge them.” It goes on, saying—“This law
 “is calculated for those persons in whom gaming
 “and the use of spirituous liquors are not accounted
 “a moral offence.”—

Doubtless, this short explanation implies, that there are other more severe inflictions against gaming and drinking, on persons of the Gentoo faith.

Section V. On persons incapable of inheritance.—This whole section discovers such principles of morality and primitive justice, and is in many instances so conformable to many tenets in the English laws, that it claims the highest commendation, and is worthy of imitation in all civil societies.

to the simplest capacity. The Company's Asiatic concerns should be freed from that confusion in which they are involved, and comprised under the several heads into which the rents of each district is consolidated.—The forms of keeping the accounts, which are unintelligible to any but the natives, should be made distinct and simple. Much confusion arises in Hindostan, from the computation of time from two different æras, each of which is irreconcilable to the Christian. One common æra should be fixed; and in this matter, the prejudices of the natives should be humoured: but it is necessary that the periods and denominations made use of, should be fully comprehended by the English, and incorporated, for this purpose, into the English language. The technical terms, which are studiously preserved in the country language, in all the English writings should be changed for words of the same import, as far as that is possible, in English. The complex division of land, and the intricate modes

of collecting the rents, calculated for the purpose of embezzlement, should once for all be eradicated, and a fixed measure established, under a denomination applicable to the quality of the production, and the tenure of each district.

In general, every complication which can possibly have a tendency to oppress the ryots, and the body of the people, or to defraud government, land proprietor, or zemindar, should be abolished.

When a regular system for the settlement of Hindostan is once adopted, in order to give it efficacy and permanence, equal to its importance, the natives should receive the most clear and ample evidence, that an European government at length wisely regards their prosperity and tranquillity as interwoven with its own: the first and most persuasive proof of which, will consist in conveying to individuals, such a property in lands, in fee or copyhold

hold tenure, with such salutary restrictions in favour of sub-tenants, as shall yield reciprocal encouragement both to landlord and tenant to improve their possessions to the best possible advantage, without dread of superseffion.

THIS security of property to the proprietor or zemindar, and to the industrious ryot, against both dispossession and oppression, will operate as a barrier against treachery in favour of either foreign enemies or domestic insurgents, from whom, if successful in their pretensions to supreme power, such indulgent conditions were not to be expected. And thus, by the fidelity and attachment of a numerous people, attached by gratitude and affection to the existing government, and increasing in population, a stronger bulwark of defence would be raised, without incurring public expences, than by a host of troops, consuming the major part of the revenues of those territories which they defended. It is imagined, that by
this

this mode of granting a property in actual perpetuity, or on leases renewable, at distant periods, to perpetuity, and a division of the most extensive districts and zemindaries into lesser ones, a very large sum would immediately be raised, a similar sum at the expiration of every eleventh or nineteenth year, and an annual reserved rent, equal, if not greater, than the present clear collection.

JUSTICE concurs with sound policy in recommending preferences to such persons, or their descendants, as have formerly had regular grants; or a series of family succession; or fair purchase in possession: who may have acquired such authority and ascendancy over the minds and affections of the people of the district, as may have a tendency to prevent that most dangerous, and most to be dreaded, of all evils, the desertion, (and of course the desolation) of the lands, by the inhabitants flying from oppression to seek refuge under a mild and more equitable govern-

government: for thus the lands being laid waste, and the remaining inhabitants impoverished and dispirited, rents must consequently be encreased upon cultivated lands, to make up the stipulated engagement of the *temporary* zemindar, which forces both the zemindar and ryot to the necessity of devising expedients to procure abatements of rent, or to defraud, until both are forced to abscond, leaving the unwise ministers of government in the unprofitable possession of dreary wastes, to hatch plausible but false pretexts for errors they have committed, and for present and subsequent deficiencies. This fatal truth was severely exemplified in the year of that dreadful famine which swept off millions of inhabitants. Although there were *irrecoverable* arrears to the amount of eighteen lacks, 38,661 Sicca rupees, or twenty-one lacks, 32,847 current rupees, of *anterior* engagement in arrears to government from the farmers, by over-rating the rents of the districts; yet the administrators continued, notwithstanding, to raise

raise those of the ensuing year, by encouraging favoured persons of low condition, without either family or credit, to overbid the original zemindars, into the advance of near eleven lacks on the general rent, which in reality, was cruelly adding above thirty-two lacks of current rupees to the measure of oppression. It is only a wonder that upon this, as well as subsequent occasions, the natives did not, either move off in a body, solicit the more lenient supremacy of some other power, or perish in an attempt to recover their rights, and original constitution and government, from savage usurpation. By a continuation of such ill-judged measures, it may confidently be asserted, that, notwithstanding the deep traces of desolation and devastation which appeared upon the face of the country, and which are feelingly described in the public records, the remission by government, and balances which are irrecoverable, since the administration of Mr. Hastings in 1772, will, upon a critical examination, be found to approach

approach nearer to a million and a half sterling than to one million. The mighty object of these oppressive measures, was to serve *favoured* black dependents, who of course were lavish in presents *, and to acquire temporary applause at home.

THE enormous weight of debt thus suspended over a timid and despairing people, forced them to abandon the fields of their nativity, to which an ancient intimacy and lineal intercourse had attached their fondest affections, the truest source of fidelity to government, and incitement to industry. After such long and painful miseries, an effectual change in the system of government will restore a happiness to the natives, not unlike what the ingenious

* The Governor's Banyan Cawntoo-baboo, enjoyed leases of zemindaries to the amount of thirteen lacks and an half annually; and he had contracts, at the same time, of the value of sixteen lacks. And it is alledged, that besides jewels, the Ranny of Burdwan alone gave twelve lacks of rupees, in presents, to her patrons. Admirable partiality !!!

fancy of ancient poets ascribed to the golden age.—But to effect this; to retrieve the devastations committed by collectors and their train of harpies; to raise the drooping spirits of the ryot, from sad despair to confidence and hope; to re-people and settle the deserted and uncultivated tracts, and to apply the unfertile soil to such uses as it is qualified to bear, will require steadiness, probity, judgment, application, and time.

A POWER of immediate punishment, not incompatible with the security of property, must indispensably be vested somewhere, not remote from each several district; and all restraints and taxes for the public service, be laid with as equal and light a hand as the exigencies of state will allow. The people of all degrees and denominations being once sensible of the effect and stability of the established regulations, numbers from distant countries will be invited by the alluring temptations thus offered

offered to industry and ingenuity, and an increase of wealth and population will naturally follow in quick succession.

AMONG the many advantages that may be expected to flow spontaneously from these institutions, considerable savings in the expenditures of government will be manifested in the charges of collection, because the present mode of constituting provincial councils will of course be abolished; in the charges of, and the batta allowed upon, distant remittances; in the charges of the courts of Adawluts, Phouzdary, and Cutchery; in the charges of supporting the Pool and Dow-bunds; and in the various other chargeable departments, both in the country and at the presidency, which will become totally unnecessary. It will be deemed a low estimate to suppose, that these savings may be computed equal to a quarter, or a third part, of the entire revenues.

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To apply rules with effect, for establishing manufactures and commerce, should be a leading maxim in the constitution of a colony, holding of, and depending on, a maritime and commercial nation. In Europe, the laws concerning these, except in Britain, Holland, and some inconsiderable republics, are *yet* simple, and sometimes ill-judged; because although rivalry in trade be gaining ground fast, the profession of a merchant, and its general utility to the state, have not acquired such an ascendancy in the deliberation of state-cabinets, as to counterbalance that adroitness which is constitutional in the people of Asia, some tribes of whom have equal ambition and avarice with Europeans, but whose other passions are never inflamed by liquors, strong viands, and social debaucheries: an advantage which they understand too well, not to avail themselves of the lucrative opportunities it affords.

SINCE

SINCE the English became rulers of extensive dominions and trade in Hindostan, a new field was opened to a subtle class of people, who, until that time, held but a middle rank in the country, Banyans and Circars. These have fastened themselves so securely in the springs of every kind of business, and such unlimited confidence, that the most trifling, as well as the most important transactions, are not only conducted, but projected by them; and Europeans are, for the most part, not only at the mercy, but under the insensible dominion of persons, whose art and address introduce, in their deportment, an obsequiousness and apparent submission, expressive of the duty of a servant to his master.

THE complicated connections and secret intercourses between Banyans, Circars, Gomastahs, Pycars, and Dellols, added to deep artifice, and consequent power, maintain their usurpations on the Europeans, as well as on the manufacturers and

ryots; who also delegate to the same agents the power of negociation. Thus they act in the two-fold capacity of feller and purchaser, reaping the advantages of commission and fraud from both, and designedly obstructing with peculiar acuteness, those personal interviews which would naturally beget confidence, so essential to the interests of both parties.

THIS wished-for intercourse and confidence, which the plan for the reception of crude and manufactured goods into public warehouses, and instant payment without the chargeable and fraudulent mediation of brokers, can alone promote and effectuate, will be the happy means also, of restoring to goods their former qualities at the former prices, without injuring the manufacturer or ryot; as in lieu of the difference in quality and price, they will save a greater difference in the emoluments and advance prices usurped by European agents, in the Nazaranas, brokerage, discount on coins, interest usuriously charged on advances,

vances, fines for imaginary breaches of contract, and a list of factitious taxes fraudulently trumped up to impose on the ignorant manufacturers and ryots, whose good faith is thus cruelly abused in clandestine contracts.

VARIOUS are the ways which the art and ingenuity of men, aiming at the acquisition of riches, devise and practise to impose upon the mass of the people, who from ignorance, a simplicity of education, and habit, are taught to place implicit faith in those who exercise trade, as Banyans, Shroffs, Circars, Gomastahs, Pycars, and Dellols. These dark impositions are, in their own consequences, peculiarly distressing to the country, having a direct tendency to discourage industry and prevent population. If justice does not animate the members of government, in whom all constitutions have necessarily vested guardian authority to interpose their power; sound policy, and the interests and safety of the state, having a view even to an

early futurity, will point to the speedy correction of general abuses, by the reasonable application of such remedies as are most likely to prove efficacious, at a time, when it is hoped and expected that a general reform is agitated.

THE complicated qualities of weights and measures in India, are much too intricate and perplexed for the comprehension and comparative estimations of persons not masters of the science of arithmetic, not to subject them to abuses, as well in the sale of their commodities, as in the purchase of necessaries. Therefore, the reduction of weights and measures to fixed legal standards, throughout, will prove materially useful in the general line of commerce; and particularly to the industrious and laborious classes of people, in a country where the banyans, shroffs, and agents of European merchants, as well as those of the Company, by a continual course of practice, understand the rules of proportion, and the intricacies of business

too

EUROPE, ASIA, and AFRICA. 101

too well, not to apply that knowledge, and the ignorance of others, to their own advantage, in all dealings where perplexity is capable of being perverted to the purposes of fraud; in the same manner as shroffs have applied the variety of coins, and reduction of their values, under the hackneyed term *Batta*, to their own emolument, inasmuch that this class of Hindoos have acquired an influence, which many have thought dangerous to government, and for that reason, ridiculously forbore to regulate their abuses.

I am, &c.

LETTER XLVI.

To J—M—, Esq. London.

Calcutta, Nov. 24, 1779.

IF the reasoning concerning India affairs, contained in my former letters, be just, the new arrangements necessary to a wise and political establishment in Hindostan, may be reduced to the following heads.

1. **THE** grand preliminary to give solidity and permanency to the new constitution, will consist in determining to whom the natives owe allegiance as sovereign lord of the country;—protection and care, being as justly the claim of the people, as submission is due from them to the sovereign.

2. **THE**

2. THE lands to be granted in fee simple, or in copyhold tenure, at fixed, easy, quit-rents ;—a fine payable at entry, and every 11th or 19th year in perpetuity. —The lands (without varying the title, or incurring expences) to descend to heirs, in lineal or collateral succession.

3. THE Hindoos to be the landholders, zemindars, farmers, ryots, and manufacturers; preferences being given first to the original proprietors, and their descendents; next to persons of high cast; then to persons of original family and influence; and lastly, to strangers: with a reservation of proper tracts of country, for the introduction and encouragement of other species of cultivation and colonization.—Moormen or Mahomedans to be preferred in the administration of public departments in the revenues and polity of government, being, however, rigidly restricted in the power of oppressing, or the commission of injustice.

4. THAT the natives shall freely enjoy their own laws, customs, casts, and religion inviolate, except in instances where innovations may tend to render liberty and property more safe from arbitrary invasion.

5. THE proprietor or zemindar, as in former times, to be accountable for the internal peace and police of his estate or zemindary; with power to hold courts of cutcherry, to adjudge fines and forfeitures to the use of the sovereign, to recover debts, and to inflict corporal punishments, not extending to life or limb.—That appeals shall lie from the cutcherry court to the supreme court in Calcutta, or to assizes; on which occasions, men of approved integrity, in independent circumstances, and possessing a clear knowledge of the Gentoo and Mahometan laws, shall associate, as expounders of law, with the British judges. And from the supreme court, the cause may be appealed to the court of chancery, &c. &c.—And that the judges
of

of the supreme court shall make their circuits, and hold assizes, in the capital of each province, twice in every year,

6. THE quit-rents and rents to be paid in the express terms stipulated in the respective concessions, in current coins, or other signs of value by authority, or in manufactures and country produce, at stated prices and standard qualities; with special covenants to encourage and promote such commodities as are proper for manufactures and exportation; and for the general encouragement of manufactures in the most extensive sense,

7. THAT one general current coin shall be established, to circulate freely without any allowance for exchange or batta; and that endeavours be used to procure it currency in the dominions of neighbouring princes. That paper, under the denomination of bank notes, be issued, and receive effectual currency, as the means of encouraging agriculture, manufactures, and trade;

trade; and as a mode to enable proprietors, zemindars, revenue officers, manufacturers, and traders, to remit their rents and monies to the respective capitals*, where they are made payable, without incurring either charges or risque: a consideration of the first magnitude, in relieving the ryots from oppression, and in exciting a general spirit of industry.

8. THE Company to receive manufactured commodities and crude productions, proper for exportation, particularly opium, salt-petre, raw silk, silk and cotton cloths of all kinds (of qualities improved to what the natives had formerly been in the practice of making, and at the former prices) into stated provincial warehouses; and all the manufactures which are for sale by individuals, to be received into these warehouses, and immediately paid for, according to the regulation, in money and bank notes.

* Calcutta, Muxadabad, Patna, Dacca, &c.

9. THE

9. THE artificial dykes or banks, to keep rivers within their channels (as a security against violent and unseasonable inundations) commonly called *Pool-bundies*, shall henceforward become, as a public duty, chargeable upon the several and respective districts that profit by them, and be kept in constant repair; subject to inspection, by proper officers, twice in every year; and a delinquency shall be punished by a heavy penalty on the principal, for the first and second offence, and a forfeiture of property in the lands, without affecting the rights of inheritance, for the third offence committed by the same principal. The forfeitures shall be at least triple the value of the damages sustained by ryots, and their losses shall be made good out of them.

10. The ryots, during the punctual discharge of rents, taxes, and stipulated obligations, incident to their respective farms, shall not be subject to removal, at the caprice or pleasure of the land-holder
or

or zemindar.—Their posterity shall continue to enjoy an uninterrupted occupancy of lands, without any alteration in the terms and conditions.—An established tenure of sub-leases shall prevail throughout the whole country invariably, unless the nature or quality of the crude or manufactured commodities produced, or other material circumstances, approved by government, shall render an alteration necessary.—And in order to encourage and promote population and industry at home, when families increase, and require a greater extent of land to cultivate, or villages to settle in, every possible indulgence and preference shall be devised and granted, as well by government as by the land-holders, to inculcate a spirit of industry, and to insure prosperity. And farther, the ryots shall not be reduced to a state of uncertainty, as to the quantity and quality of the rents and services to be exacted by their landlords.

II. THAT the current prices of grains, *which are the necessaries of life*, be unalterably

ably fixed; unless a deviation from this rule for the purpose of immediate exportation, or upon any actual emergency, for a *limited* time, be allowed by supreme authority.—That if nevertheless, by any combination or association of land-holders and others, the rates of grain, or other necessities of life, be collusively enhanced, to the prejudice of manufacturers, labourers, and industrious poor; government shall in such case be warranted to exact additional rents in the same proportion, during the continuance of the monopoly and fraudulent forestalling.—This regulation will tend to encourage industry and manufactures; and yield an increase of revenue to government, by the increased estimation of the productions in future.

12. THAT large districts and zemindaries be parcelled into lesser divisions; due regard, for the sake of conveniency and the peace of neighbours, being paid to natural boundaries and original sub-farms;

in

in such moderate proportions, that many shall be under one lack, and few or none exceed two lacks in the estimation of quit-rent. — Many good reasons may be adduced to justify the policy and expediency of reducing the larger districts, and dividing the lands (in fee or copyhold tenure) among as large a number of the original chiefs, and their posterity, as circumstances will permit. Fidelity, temperance, and emulation, bear a nearer affinity, and are more intimately associated with mediocrity, than with profuse wealth. — Wealth begets ambition, ambition languishes for power, and power in Asia, suggests ideas of treason.

13. THAT the average, or mean rent collected from possessions under actual cultivation and good titles, since 1773 to 1781, both included, be the gross sum to be established as the government claim for quit-rents, on the same lands, in perpetuity; and that the division thereof, by assessment on entire or subdivided districts,

be apportioned with all the impartiality and equity which knowledge and experience can ascertain.

14. THE numerous jaghires, talook, charity, and religious tenures, which occupy a vast extent of territory in the several provinces under the Company's dominion in Hindostan, having afforded subterfuges to gross misapplications, perversions, usurpations, and chicaneries, call for a strict scrutiny; and the titles, as well as the quantities of lands, should be ascertained, in order that government may be enabled to resume its constitutional rights, in all cases where usurpations and fraudulent abuses have been committed. Claims, *under a future prescriptive tenure*, in favour of possessors, where ambiguity or casual circumstances doth render them indistinct, should be admitted in a liberal manner, and without too severe a scrutiny.

15. THE waste and uncultivated lands shall be resumed by government, as if never
ver

ver under cultivation, and granted to individuals, under the same tenures as cultivated lands, but without exacting any quit-rent for a certain term ; upon a moderate quit-rent for a second term ; and a perpetual quit-rent thereafter.—And great and flattering indulgences shall be held out, to encourage strangers to become cultivators of the soil, and manufacturers in the new villages.

16. THAT country produce for immediate consumption, and for the Company's warehouses, be exempted from river and inland duties. That military bazars, (markets) and all country bazars and gunges, be also exempt from duties ; except where they are exacted to raise a necessary fund to maintain the internal police and government of any particular district or town.

17. THAT a register general's office, and provincial offices, be established for recording grants, conveyances, deeds, leases, wills,

wills, and other solemn titles and documents, having relation to real estates, inheritances, or successions. That the provincial offices shall transmit original deeds to the general office in Calcutta, every month; and that a copy from either office, duly authenticated, shall have equal validity in evidence as the original. That the offices have regular dockets of fees, and other rules, established by authority; and that complete indexes be daily upheld, for the ready inspection of records.

18. THAT if the Hindoo laws concerning divers kinds of prescriptions, shall not be deemed sufficient to answer the ends of government, blended with the rights and security of the people, others more competent and effectual shall be adopted.

19. THAT salutary reservations and laws be established, to guard against the dreadful calamities which follow severe droughts in those warm regions; and that intercession be made with the Brahmins, for indulgencies

and dispensations, in times of famine, or *extreme* calamity, for *all* castes to subsist upon animal food, *for the preservation of life.*

20. THAT weights and measures be reduced to fixed standards by authority.—To such as know the complicated variety of these used in India, the expediency of a regulation in favour of ryots and manufacturers, will not appear to need any proof.

21. THE Hindoo tax, called najay, was a fine assessed on the whole district, to answer the deficiencies of individuals. In some instances, such a tax is irreconcilable to the maxims of justice; when it is exacted, for example, merely for the benefit and gratification of government, or the proprietor. But it will be a security against desertion, the malice of wicked neighbours, negligence, and inactivity: for, by making the ryots answerable for each other, it will operate as a salutary check,

check; provided the rents are equally proportioned and levied on each farm in the district, according to extent and quality, and that the tax is not demanded when the deficiency arises unavoidably, by *the hand* of Providence, or by any oppressive or violent act of the proprietor: therefore, this tax shall, under proper limitations, be revived.

SECURITY to private property, and a free trade, are the greatest encouragements that can be held out to industry and ingenuity, and cherish in the human breast a laudable degree of ambition, and a love of affluence: principles which render the states that are inhabited by such subjects as possess them, wealthy, independent, and powerful. The limitation of the powers annexed to the magistracy, in its several departments; the suppression of every usurpation of these powers by private authority; and facility of access to justice; are the only means by which this invaluable security is to be obtained: and

when obtained, it should be preserved with the same sacred and solemn guardian care, which is represented to have been of old exercised over the laws of Minos.

I am, &c.

Calcutta, Nov. 27, 1779.

AN independent sovereignty over certain territories in Hindostan, being ceded by the emperor to the crown of Great Britain, the sole property of the salt-petre, opium, and various sorts of piece goods, commodities, and manufactures, which are peculiar to those provinces, might be made to operate as a monopoly, which should draw a great balance of trade, with all the eastern coasts and islands, as well as to facilitate the investments from China.—The produce of the British provinces in India might be bartered for that of China, in the same manner that the Dutch carry on an advantageous trade with that country.

LETTER

LETTER XLVII.

To J— M—, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Nov. 27, 1779.

AN independent sovereignty over certain territories in Hindostan, being ceded by the emperor to the crown of Great Britain, the sole property of the salt-petre, opium, and various sorts of piece goods, commodities, and manufactures, which are peculiar to those provinces, might be made to operate as a monopoly, which should draw a great balance of trade, with all the eastern coasts and islands, as well as to facilitate the investments from China.—The produce of the British provinces in India might be bartered for that of China, in the same manner that the Dutch carry on an advantageous trade with that country,

by means of the rich aromatic productions of *Ceylon* and the *Molucca* islands. The same articles, with other piece goods and provisions, might support a lucrative commerce with the southern and western coasts of the peninsula of Hindostan, and also with the Persian and Arabian seas.

THE French African islands of Mauritius and Bourbon being reduced under the power of Great Britain, the former should be made a free port, under easy limitations and the exaction of a moderate duty. Foreign nations would then resort to Mauritius, as to a market where they might purchase their supplies on terms considerably lower than either the Dutch, Danes, or Portuguese can furnish them in Europe; and consequently, these nations must, in their own defence, relinquish establishments which involve them equally in loss and discredit. Foreigners coming to this eastern emporium should be obliged to pay at least one-third of the price of the commodities they purchase, in silver bullion,

bullion, at a standard and assay value, which the seller should be obliged to transmit to India for the benefit of circulation.—The town and port of Fort Lewis in Mauritius being made a free port, would be the great avenue through which India commodities would flow into the markets of Europe. Foreign European nations must of course be precluded from all communication with the native powers of the Indian continent. Hence it will become sound policy, and indeed a measure indispensably necessary, to give every possible encouragement to Indian manufacturers, particularly to establish a constant and ready market for all sorts of manufactures, even in the greatest quantities *. But, in order to make such merchandize

* This project can never interfere with the Company's sale in Europe, because the exported quantity must follow the Company's annual tonnage; and because as the merchants exporting will expect an advance and interest on their outlays, and to be paid freight and insurance, and the freights and charges from the Island to Europe must be at least equal to what the Company pay, it will follow, that the Company, after clearing more than 20

merchandize saleable, with reciprocal advantage both to the buyer and seller, all the fraudulent and pernicious restraints and impositions, which of late years have occasioned a debasement in the qualities, and an advancement in the prices of goods, must be effectually abolished. All goods must be restored to their original qualities and textures. Let no chicaning intermediate agent be suffered to pass between the manufacturers and the Company's warehouse-keepers and sorters, except the sworn appreciators and examiners, according to standard samples, secreted from the view, and from every possible communication with the owners. Manufacturers should receive punctual payment of all necessary advances and balances, without any diminution or defalcation, in adequate prices for their labour and ingenuity. Manufactures sold to individuals should be

per cent. duty in India, can undersell the goods thus imported into Europe from Mauritius; nor is it to be doubted, that the Europe, American, and African markets will continue equal to India exports.

subjected

subjected to an inland duty of at least
 ten per cent. on their standard estimations
 and exported under bonds to return certi-
 ficates: but in cases where the individual
 purchaser shall, within six months, bring
 them into the Company's warehouses,
 three-fourth parts of duty shall be return-
 ed to him. By these means, without ope-
 rating as a monopoly, the goods will be
 lodged in the Company's warehouses,
 where merchants or other persons having
 orders or commissions, or desirous of mak-
 ing remittances, may, in one day, com-
 plete an assortment of approved, unexcep-
 tionable merchandize, paying the prime
 cost, with an advance of ten *per cent.* in lieu
 of warehouse rent, charges, and risque of
 transportation, and other petty incidental
 expences. These goods being sent to
 Mauritius, should be received only under
 particular dockets and other clearances;
 and should there be deposited in the Com-
 pany's warehouses, paying *two and an half*
per cent. in lieu of warehouse rent, lighte-
 rage, cranage, and portorage, upon entry,
 and

and five per cent. more by the shipper, in lieu of export duty and charges, upon exportation.

Thus a handsome revenue would arise to the Company on this merchandize of about 20 *per cent.* while the exporter, by the mode of purchase, without any previous advance, or running the risque of losing part of the sums usually advanced to the manufacturers, or of being defrauded by the gomastahs, dellols *, and other agents, employed near twelve months before an assortment is completed, will lay in the goods subject to these duties, &c. at 20 to 30 *per cent.* cheaper than he could do now ; with this further advantage, that the quality of the goods will ensure them a steady and profitable market, as well in Mauritius as in Europe.

I am, &c.

* A species of country agents.

LETTER

L E T T E R XLVIII.

To J—M—, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Nov. 30, 1779.

IT is a fact of notoriety, that for every rupee which is accounted for in the receipt of the Company's general treasury, their uncontrolled collectors, and the multitude of deputies, and native harpies dependent on them, who use the authority and sanction of their names for the purposes of extortion, receive at least five. If an effectual remedy could be provided for this evil, it would release commerce from its fetters, and improve the public revenue, as well as relieve the great body of the people from the most destructive rapacity.

To this end, the union of the two departments for collecting the Government's
and

and the Company's duties, as they are emphatically distinguished, would be highly conducive. The custom-houses being united, the constitution of the single office arising from that union, should be at once simple and systematical: simple, in order to save expences, and prevent embezzlement and studied delay of payment; systematical, that it may extend to every branch of revenue, that a due subordination may be maintained among the revenue officers, and that the income of the public may be secured by proper checks on its collectors, and particularly by the appointment of a comptroller.

A REFORM may be made general in every public department, and extend not only to salaries and to numbers, but to duty and the exercise of power. The subordinate councils under the controul of the several presidencies, are merely iniquitous combinations, having in reality no other object in contemplation, but first to devise the most effectual means of defrauding
their

their employers, and oppressing the natives, for the purpose of enriching themselves in their turns; and then to devise such specious minutes and letters as are most likely to justify, or at least to draw a decent veil over actions that cannot bear the light.

REVENUE chiefs, and collectors of districts and provinces, are, if possible, still greater nuisances, and may as easily be dispensed with, by means of an established general coin and valuable currency, a free internal trade, by granting lands on permanent tenures, and ascertaining the *number and nature* of those tenures.

Thus will all those rich farms which are, by connivance and chicanery, concealed from public knowledge, and which are appropriated to the use of individuals as emoluments of office, be discovered, and brought forth to public account.

CONTRACTORS

their

CONTRACTORS are a species of robbers who have the sanction and protection, because they are generally the partners, of leading members in administration. The judicious and disinterested orders of the court of Directors, with regard to the matters I have touched on in this letter; and indeed with regard to all others, are either secretly evaded, or, where that is impossible, treated with open contempt. They are considered as the impertinent intrusions of men assuming powers that do not belong to them, and arrogating a knowledge in matters, the conduct of which, custom and possession have placed in more powerful hands. The servants of the Company conceive themselves to be possessed, if not of the most *just and legal*, yet of a very *natural* authority; an *absolute* authority, which they well know how to use as an engine, not only for procuring the remission of offences, but even rank and applause. Thus they become proper objects of emulation
to

to others, who treading in the same fraudulent paths, are solicitous to procure powerful friends, who may connive at and protect their own frauds, and quicken the rapid acquisition of fortunes by seniors, that they may the sooner be placed in situations for acquiring fortunes themselves.

THESE evils are mightily encreased by that great number of young gentlemen which are sent out every year in the character of writers: one third part of which would be more than sufficient to execute all the business exacted of the whole; and if these young gentlemen were restrained from entering on this line of life, before their educations were completed*, and that they had acquired distinct ideas of business, and some knowledge of the world; were they confirmed in principles

* In order to secure rank and seniority, writers of the age of sixteen years are admissible; but they generally advance a year upon their ages, and come out between fifteen and sixteen.

of justice, integrity, and honour; and were their judgments matured by time and experience; the Company and the country would equally be benefited by their abilities and virtue; while they themselves would rise faster in the service than they do now, and make quicker progress in that *great work* of accumulating independencies with unblemished characters and serene consciences.—If this idea should be adopted, the appointments of the Company's writers should be made so abundantly competent to their stations and prospects, as to place them above the commission of mean and dishonourable actions, or of becoming the dupes of underhand agents, and of usurious Banyans and Circars. It is evident, that the Company's expences would continue the same, were the present entire allowance distributed among a smaller number, while their business would be performed with greater promptitude, and with more accuracy and judgment.

THIS

THIS new regulation would, in all probability, soon introduce another, of great importance to the Company in various respects; namely, the keeping of all their records, accounts, and books, in the English language*, instead of that of the country, as has long been, and still is the practice even in private families. Any accounts that are kept in English, are merely partial abstracts, and translations from the country languages. Thus the Company, as well as individuals, are at the mercy of native servants, from whom alone their employers receive informations of the state of their finances, investments, effects, and property of every kind, from time to time: a power which the cool and

* It is astonishing, that notwithstanding the length of time which the English have traded to Bengal, and that for the last sixteen years they have acted as independent sovereigns thereof, there is not a servant in an English house who understands the English language; and such is the police of that country, that every British subject is indirectly a dependent on his Banyan and Circar, and a slave even to the lowest of his own servants. It is otherwise at Madras and Bombay.

deep-designing Hindoos will endeavour by all means to preserve.

I MAY, perhaps, be thought to bear hard, in some of the observations I have made now, as well as on former occasions, on the servants of the Company. In truth, the conduct of many, nay of the most of them, affords not any subject for panegyric. Nevertheless, we ought, in candour, to make great allowances to the strong temptations that solicit them to grasp at fortune at the expence of integrity. The same circumstances which, in some degree, excuse the weaknesses and vices of the Company's servants, enhance the merit of those who preserve their virtue untainted amidst general corruption. True glory consists in persevering in the paths of virtue, in spite of all the allurements of vice. There are, doubtless, among the Company's servants, several who are well entitled to this praise. Such among them I know, and I have had great satisfaction in their acquaintance. Concerning those in

in the administration of government, I shall be wholly silent. *They* have had but too much occasion to display their talents, and their principles, either in supporting or opposing the measures on the Company's records. There are, however, among the Company's servants, men whose junior stations have not yielded opportunities of exhibiting the excellence of their characters in so conspicuous a manner; and I mention their names in particular, without meaning to insinuate an idea to the prejudice of any others. I have often found it convenient to acquire a knowledge of characters; and therefore, my friend, I have chosen to point out a few, who will claim your regard, if ever chance should bring you into their society. The favourable impressions which they have made on my mind, are the result solely of their own capacities and integrity.

MR. BRODIE of Madras, although a young servant, and young in years, by a

natural and easy address, sound judgment, manly firmness, polite candour, unwearied diligence, probity, and a liberality of sentiment, seems to have gained the universal confidence and esteem of persons of all ranks, denominations, and countries within that settlement. These talents and virtues, joined to a steady boldness, have often presented him to my mind as a person well qualified, with the assistance of *Mooda Kistna* as interpreter, to undertake a pacific embassy to Hyder Ally.

I ESTEEM it a peculiar happiness, that I have had an opportunity of knowing, with easy freedom, the honourable principles which adorn and actuate the natural and acquired abilities of Mr. George Bogle, Mr. John Shore, Mr. G. Ducarell, Mr. Claud Alexander, and Mr. David Anderson, of Calcutta. To these may justly be subjoined the names of Mr. Herbert Harris, Mr. Samuel Touchett, and Mr. John Mackenzie.

THE

THE embassy of Mr. Bogle to the Lama of Thibet, and his letter of resignation, when he found himself unable to accomplish the purposes of his appointment of commissioner of the Company's law-suits in the Supreme Court, by reason of the extra-judicial proceedings of the judges, do honour to his moral character; as his clear and precise knowledge of the revenues, laws, and customs of the Company's possessions in Bengal, prove him to be one of their ablest servants. But his connection with Mr. H——s, has impressed his mind with an idea, that pure despotism in the uncontrolled hands of an individual, is the only system whereby to govern India.

MR. SHORE, Mr. Ducarell, and Mr. Anderson, have acquired so accurate a knowledge of the revenues of the provinces of Hindostan, and the dispositions, customs, and manners of the people, that, whatever change may take place in the administration, sound policy and good sense will point out them as necessary members.

Mr. Alexander, whose unbiaſſed integrity, and accurate knowledge of accounts, have juſtly raiſed him to the important ſtation which he now occupies, of commiſſary general of the army accounts, is worthy of unlimited confidence, and capable of rendering ſignal ſervices, particularly in any line that requires controul, and a clear knowledge of accounts. It would be injuſtice to the moſt approved fidelity, to paſs over the diſtinguiſhed abilities and unſhaken integrity of Mr. Charles Grant, principal ſecretary to the Board of Trade. If this gentleman errs in any thing, it is in the ſternneſs of his virtue, and the nice ſcrupuloſneſs of his feelings in matters of right and wrong. The only good that has been performed by that Board, has been involuntary on the part of its members, and ſtands to the ſole credit of the ſecretary.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XLIX.

To J—M—, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Dec. 3, 1779.

THE East India Company entertained false ideas concerning the trade carried on from their settlements in the east with the Arabian and Persian seas, when they either misled government, or seduced the minister at the Ottoman court to obstruct the commerce with the Red Sea, and as much as possible, that from Bassorah and Bagdat to Aleppo and Smyrna. Doubtless, they imagined that such commerce would interfere with their sales in Europe, and with the trade of the Levant Company: but never was any apprehension more groundless. Let the Company's sales in Leadenhall-street and the Custom-house entries in London be reviewed, in

order to ascertain the quantities and qualities of India goods exported to the Levant and the African side of the Mediterranean ; and then compare these with the quantities and qualities of the goods sent from India into the gulphs. This comparison will sufficiently evince the Company's mistake with regard to this subject, and no doubt effectually correct it. France and Denmark, who nearly engross that part of the African trade which lies within the straits of Gibraltar, are capable—the one by proximity, the other by constant intercourse, and both by the unrestrained systems of their imports—of underselling the Levant Company in all India commodities. Therefore, unless the Levant Company have actually occasion to monopolize all the bills of exchange negotiated in Marseilles, Villa Franca, Genoa, Leghorn, Venice, and the other southern states, upon the northern kingdoms and trading cities of Europe (an idea repugnant to the very institution of that society) it is not probable that the portion of trade
which

which is carried on from India directly with Mocha, Judda, Suez, and Bafforah, can sensibly affect either the measure or the profits of the traffic of that Company. The articles of remittance to Britain, for goods exported from India into the Persian and Arabian seas, are bills of exchange, Venetian gold, and Spanish and German crowns: nor is it alledged, that *returns* to India are in any respect offensive. It therefore becomes a political question, whether it will prove advantageous to Britain, that the Levant Company shall enjoy new and exclusive privileges, which, without being of the smallest advantage to the British nation in any respect, embarrass the Indian trade, and one branch of which it tends directly to foreclose?

INDIA has been, till of late, in the uniform practice of sending its productions into the Arabian and Persian seas, to the value of about 350,000 l. annually; the principal returns for which, were gold, silver, and other articles of merchandize, which

which interfered not in any material instance with the trade of the Company, or with British manufactures. The other returns became remittances of the acquisitions of individuals to Britain, and consequently a real benefit to the nation. The importation of precious metals into India, is evidently essential to its prosperity. Such articles as are wanted for consumption, or are indispensable in the improvement of manufactures, and which must otherwise have been bought from foreigners, and paid for with a liquidation of specie, will operate in the same manner with respect to the country, as if the intire returns, except what is sent to Britain, were made in the precious metals only.

OVER and above the advantages accruing from navigation to all commercial countries, and profits upon the returns, the sales up the gulphs may reasonably be computed to yield twenty to twenty-five per cent. net profit, if the India goods are judiciously laid in. Thus an annual
market

market will be furnished for about half a million of pounds sterling, and a real balance of trade in favour of the English Company, from places, all commerce with which has rashly been discountenanced and restrained by public authority. —It is an object of importance to the East India Company, and worthy of the support of government, to revive and re-establish those branches of commerce upon a new and comprehensive system. Such a system has, after much enquiry and reflection, been already framed in idea; and it is affirmed with confidence, that it might easily be reduced to practice, that it would promote the interest of the Company, enrich individuals, and, on the whole, add to the prosperity of the British possessions in India.

As the commerce to and from India with all parts eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, is as free to individuals as to the Company; it has been wholly carried on, for a considerable time past, by the
 Company's

Company's servants, individually, or on their account; and by others who stile themselves *free merchants* and *free mariners*. The fluctuations and insecurity peculiar to any commerce which is restrained by the arbitrary will of an exclusive Company and despotic government, are too obvious not to damp the ardour of even the hardiest speculators in commerce: nevertheless, free merchants, labouring under manifold inconveniences, adventured in this hazardous trade; and would have succeeded in spite of all obstructions, but those which were thrown in their way by the partiality and injustice of that very country which was ultimately to reap the benefit of their genius and industry.

EVERY possible encouragement consistent with sound policy, should be freely granted to British subjects trading to the east of the Cape of Good Hope. Free traders should, however, be put under particular restrictions and limitations, as well in certain branches of internal privileges

leges and trade, as in the mode of purchasing country manufactures. This measure is absolutely necessary, in order to prevent those abuses which have been so justly and so loudly complained of; the debasement of the qualities, and at the same time the encrease of the prices, of commodities. This restraint ought not to be murmured at, when it is considered that free traders are exempted from general taxes, and that the charges of the civil and military government, the benefits of which they enjoy, is borne without their participation. Their navigation especially, should be laid under strict regulations. They should never be allowed to trade beyond the limits of the Company's dominions without passports.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER L.

To J—— M——, Esq. London.

Calcutta, Dec. 6, 1779.

IT is equally unjust and impolitic, that foreigners should enjoy greater privileges and immunities than the natural subjects of any country; yet *Frenchmen* are allowed to trade with the most unbounded freedom, and to amass large fortunes in the English Company's dominions in India, even while their nation is at war with Britain, and while they sacrifice the temporary allegiance they owe to a government which favours them with so singular an indulgence, to the hostile views of their native country. *Swiss, Germans, Portuguese, Armenians, and others,* are exclusively indulged with such peculiar advantages in trade, that they quickly acquire

quire fortunes, with which they retire to their own countries : whereas Englishmen, were they equally favoured, would in like manner speedily acquire wealth, and carry it home to enrich Great Britain.

IT is evidently beneficial to any country, that sojourners as well as its settled inhabitants do live in a plentiful and generous manner ; for thus encouragement is afforded, by a free circulation of money, to the industry of the manufacturer, the labourer, and the husbandman. Now the natives of Britain are distinguished for a liberality, and even a profusion in their manner of living, both at home and abroad : whereas foreigners are in general as remarkable for their parsimony and mean penuriousness ; so that the people among whom they acquire their fortunes, reap but little benefit from supplying *their* few wants, and at last, have the mortification of seeing strangers carrying away great sums of hoarded money to be spent in their own countries.

THE treachery and ingratitude of foreigners enjoying extraordinary indulgences under the constitution of the English East India Company, are so well known, and have of late been so strikingly exemplified in the conduct of Mr. Bolts, Mr. Chevalier, Mr. Somro, Mr. Pollier, Mr. Moneron, &c. that it ought not to be a matter of surprize, that the most secret proceedings in Calcutta and Madras, previous to the late capture of Chandernagore, and the siege of Pondicherry, were known to the two French governors as quickly as the speed of Harcarahs could convey the information. This dangerous evil is encouraged by the wilful violation of one of the standing orders of the Company, prohibiting the Company's servants in India from marrying women of foreign birth or the Romish faith. Two of the Council of Madras are married to French ladies, near relations of governor Law, and rigid Catholics. A late suspended member of the same board is married to another lady of
that

that family; and several other gentlemen in the service of that presidency, have entered into similar connections: the governor general, Mr. Hastings, has set an example of the same kind in Bengal; and in order to render the practice general, he contrived to draw two of his family into foreign connections. With great confidence may it be asserted, that all the mischiefs which have attended Mr. H——s's administration in Bengal, are to be ascribed to female connection; that the notice given to Mr. Chevalier, the evening preceding the capture of Chandernagore*; the very dan-

* It has been industriously propagated, that M. Chevalier was in his house at Ghyrotty when Colonel Dow entered it, but that he got away by the management of Madame Chevalier.—Nothing is more false.—Two confidential servants of the Company, and particular favourites of Mr. H——s, were with him upon *secret* business, until two o'clock that morning; and when Colonel Dow surrounded Ghyrotty house, M. Chevalier was concealed in the house of a trusty servant in the town of Chandernagore, three miles distant, together with such papers as would, probably, if seized by Colonel Dow, have brought fatal conspiracies to light.

gerous leave given to the same Governor Chevalier, after having been taken prisoner in Catak, to embark for France by the shortest route through the Red Sea *; and a variety of other misdemeanors, originated in, and were carried through by the same influence. The open conduct of the Portuguese house of De C——o, D——s, and P——n, as the agents of Mr. Bolts, in supplying his Niccabar and other settlements, in defiance of the Company's positive orders, as well as the share which they have had in embarrassing the Nabob

* Mr. Elliot, though deservedly a favourite with Mr. H—s, and with all who knew his abilities and amiable qualities, was too honourable to have the secret of M. Chevalier's mode of escape divulged to him, else he would not have so boldly hazarded his own safety, and at last sacrificed his life, to the seizing of M. Chevalier's person.—He sent him to Calcutta, as an acquisition of the first magnitude to the peace and security of the English Company's possessions in India. But the same motives which wrought his escape from Ghyrotty, and the affected feelings of one lady for another, procured him a speedy and safe conduct to France, through the Red Sea, in a French vessel under Danish colours, loaded for his own and Monsieur Mone-ron's account, with money and merchandize.

of the Carnatic, are further instances of the bad policy of extending greater privileges to strangers than to British subjects. The prostituted name of Mr. De S—a, which has been so often used for the purpose of defrauding the government of Britain, in matters relating to the king's squadrons in India; the plan concerted between M. Bellecombe, Monsieur Moracin, and Monsieur de Larche, in case of the reduction of Pondicherry, for conveying political intelligence of measures in India; the conveniency which the house of M. Guinett, a French surgeon, settled in Madras, afforded in communicating the transactions in Fort St. George to Pondicherry; the countenance and inconsiderate indulgence granted to Monsieur Salabert, a French officer, for whom M. de la Brilliane, of Mauritius, procured introductions from lady F——r to her friends in Madras, and sent him, under the sanction of these letters, actually as a spy, in consequence of which, and the easy access he had to the families of those mem-

bers of council who were married to French ladies, he had the liberty of visiting all the fortifications, and procured introductions, for the like purposes, to Ajengo, Tellicherry, and Bombay *.—These are among the many happy effects of that partial indulgence which is shewn in British Hindostan to foreigners.—Salabert returned to Mahé, and joined M. St. Lubin and Hyder Ally. Hence he accompanied Captain Rozell, in disguise, to Negapatnam and Tranquebar, and at length (at the very time it was besieged) into Pondicherry, whence he embarked in the *Pourvoyeuse* to Mauritius.

THE history and conduct of Monsieur Moneron is very applicable to the present subject. This gentleman's name has already been mentioned as the associate of M. Chevalier into the Red Sea. He found less difficulty in procuring a passage,

* Where his designs were suspected by the shrewd discernment of the blunt Mr. Hornby, who ordered him to withdraw on a very short notice.

through

through the interest of a refugee house of trade in London, than a loyal British subject would in one of the Company's ships. The same house furnished him with money, merchandize, and credit, for which, it is probable, they are now smarting. Being a man of address and abilities, he soon became a favourite and confidant of Monsieur Chevalier; and the same properties, together with a knowledge of the English language, *and other useful qualifications*, rendered him a welcome and confidential emissary in Calcutta. His brother was employed as a necessary messenger, under the denomination of a supercargo, to Pondicherry and Mauritius, in the ship *le Duc de Vrilliere*. He was indulged, in compliment to M. Chevalier, to accompany him on his parole through the Red Sea to France, and thence to surrender themselves prisoners of war in England. He nominally chartered a large snow, under Danish passports and colours, though, in truth, she was his own property;

he loaded her with proper goods for the Suez, Judda, and Mocha markets, and with money; and they embarked, provided with the most ample passports, and letters of safe conduct from the governor general *. It is more than probable that he touched at Mangalore, or Choul, on the Malabar coast, in order to confer with Hyder Ally and the Marrattas, as well as with Monsieur St. Lubin; which may account for the vessel's not getting higher up than Judda, in the Red Sea, before the monsoon set in from the northward. Here the friends parted; M. Chevalier to pursue his Indian schemes in Versailles; and M. Moneron to return to India, more for the purpose of making new discoveries, and of communicating them, than for that of establishing his family, or disposing of his merchandize. Indeed, he had liquidated most of his In-

* This measure was strongly opposed by Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheler in council.

dian concerns before his departure from that country.

He loaded his snow back, traded at Ceylon and Negapatnam, and, with an effrontery peculiar to his countrymen, boldly entered the Houghley, and landed his cargo, which he sold *openly* to an English merchant in Calcutta. That he might not hazard his neck in case of a discovery, after taking the oaths of allegiance, &c. he continued to pass and repass freely, throughout the English, Dutch, and Danish settlements in Bengal, without demanding any protection, or qualifying as a prisoner of war. In the mean time, he learnt the hostile disposition of all the native states in Hindostan to the English; the very reduced state of the English Company's finances; and on the whole, that the present was a proper period for France to execute her purpose of joining the force which lay in Mauritius to those of Hyder Ally and the Marhattas. in order to regain a greater power

and influence in India, than had ever been conceived by the most sanguine hopes of Monsieur Dupleix. An English stranger, unconnected with the Company, had an opportunity of learning, that a ship bought in the name of a Portuguese merchant in Calcutta, then loading with rice and provisions for Tranquebar on the coast of Coromandel, in which M. Moneron and his family were to embark as passengers, was really the property of M. Moneron, as well as her cargo, and was actually destined in a direct course to Mauritius, and took several opportunities, in private conversation, of mentioning it, first to Mr. Hastings's friends, and then to some other members of the supreme board. After the ship had fallen down *below Calcutta*, in the river, M. Moneron was confined to his house at Chandernagore; but although the ship *Swallow*, mounting sixteen guns, and navigated with one hundred men, lay at Cadgerry ready to slip at a moment's warning to seize the ship, she was suffered quietly to pass, and to proceed

proceed

proceed to Mauritius: for upon enquiry, it was found, that she had not touched at Tranquebar, or any other part of that coast.

It should be an invariable maxim with states at war, to treat prisoners, not only with humanity, hospitality, and liberality, but with every possible indulgence, consistent with prudence and policy. In India, this law of humanity, thus guarded and qualified, has, however, been transgressed. The Company's servants have departed from the national characteristic of Englishmen, by the exercise of parsimony and unnecessary incivility on some occasions, while in others they have shewn the most imprudent indulgences to the enemies of their country. The *very polite* mode of accommodating Governor Chevalier, and sending him home by the shortest and safest route, to concert the recovery of India in Versailles, while Madame Chevalier was contented to undergo the perils and fatigues

tigues of a long voyage, in a Danish ship, by the Cape of Good Hope*, and the last-

* M. Chevalier acquired wealth, and what is of more importance, a knowledge of the politics, customs, dispositions, and languages of Hindostan, acting as a remote country agent, with extraordinary indulgences, for English gentlemen, members of council in Calcutta. He had not been in the service of the French Company, or the crown, from the conquest of Chandernagore by Adm. Watson and Lord Clive; but Governor Law discovered his abilities and knowledge, and with a true spirit of patriotism, discovered also the advantages which France might derive from them; and M. Chevalier profiting of his own wealth, reasonably applied a portion thereof to second the recommendation of Governor Law; in consequence of which, he was quickly taken into the service of the crown, and raised as quickly to the second station in India. An enterprizing genius, an ambitious mind, and an ardent desire to fulfil the hopes he had raised, conspired to excite his activity, and to support his perseverance. The capture of Chandernagore, *by surprize*, and a similar attempt upon the house of Ghyrotty, did not deprive him of the means of preserving the copious materials he had collected. He was faithfully assisted in the mode of securing them and himself; and a man, proverbially distinguished for the want of personal address, and the uniform awkwardness of his person, attitudes, and conversation in public, to the astonishment of India, acquired upon this singular occasion, as if by instinct, the *tone and polite civility*

last-mentioned indulgence to Monsieur Moneron; the pensions *doubled ostentatiously* to French pensioners in Chandernagore; in return for which, in less than six months, the pensioners doubled the rents of their houses to such British subjects as were desirous of benefiting by the salubrity of an air and situation, so superior to Calcutta; the unlimited freedom given to Frenchmen, of ingress and egress to all parts indiscriminately, and consequently of communicating, with dangerous circumstances, the state of general and particular affairs in India, through the Danish, Dutch, and Portuguese, to the Marrattas, Hyder Ally, Mauritius, and France; the unhandsome, and indeed unnecessary incivility shewn to General Belle-

civility of a Frenchman. Mr. Hastings condescended to extend and rack his invention, in order to accommodate M. Chevalier, and to forward his and the views of France, against the able and wise remonstrances and protests of his colleagues in council, and unfortunately, as chief, he possessed influence, and two votes.

combe at Madras, when in the state of a prisoner of war; the stoppage of the subsistence stipulated by capitulation to some of the civil and pensioned officers in Pondicherry who could not even be accommodated singly, far less with their wives, children, mothers, and sisters, on board the *Luconia* snow, and who, upon that account, would not leave them behind in misery, but, following the feelings and dictates of nature, declined that occasion of going to Mauritius:—these and other circumstances, sufficiently prove the deficiency of their hospitality in some instances, and its excess in others. But the military manœuvre of Sir Eyre Coote, and the acquiescence of the council of Madras, in enlisting prisoners of war, then under articles of capitulation, who were natural-born subjects of France, into the Company's service, was a measure which condemns the military knowledge of the one, and the political knowledge of the other.

M. BEL-

M. BELLECOMBE, intending to procure favourable conditions, lengthened his requisitions to about forty-seven articles, which, with equal efficacy, might have been comprized in a fourth part of that number. Among other superfluous articles, he stipulated, that the prisoners of war should not be tampered with, or inveigled to enlist in the English Company's service. Doubtless, this precaution could only have had allusion to Germans, Swifs, Brabanters, and others, *not natural-born subjects of France*: it never could have been understood to extend to *capitulant subjects, natives of France*. The former were certainly free to enlist, because the act of surrender absolved them from the temporary allegiance they owed to France. The latter could not enlist in a British army, being bound by a natural and indefeasible allegiance to the king of France. But in the conduct of General Bellecombe on this occasion, we have a striking proof that an unnecessary multiplication of laws defeats its own object. It was thought necessary
by

by M. Bellecombe, to restrain the British from *inveigling* the prisoners to enlist in their service, by an express stipulation. The British general did not break through this engagement, when he enlisted such of the prisoners as had *not been tampered with and inveigled*; but who offered themselves as recruits of their own accord. But still, by enlisting French prisoners, he violated the laws of nations; and at the same time committed an act of deadly inhumanity, in placing those ignorant, deluded people in the situation of deserters and traitors, by which they forfeit their lives, or are subjected to perpetual banishment from their country, friends, and families.

THE preference granted to the traitors, after their arrival at Calcutta, over regular European troops, as a bribe to secure their attachment, implied a strong distrust of their fidelity to their new masters and commanders. For that distrust, I confess, I think there was great room.

room. I venture to predict, that the precedence given to the traitors will not be sufficient to restrain them from committing, on any favourable occasion, a second act of treachery. Perhaps their enlisting in our service, was a political manœuvre of France: nor was it bad policy to procure such an accession of strength and intelligence in the heart of Hindostan. I suspect you will think this conjecture rather fanciful. I allow, that political refinement is frequently a source of error. But the political schemes of France being laid deep, it is necessary, if we speculate concerning them at all, to speculate profoundly. However chimerical the suspicions I have just now hinted may appear to some; to those well acquainted with the French nation, they will seem very natural. Even French officers would willingly enlist in our army as privates, and serve in that character for years, if by that zeal, they could hope to recommend themselves, by the communication of im-
portant

portant intelligence, or otherwise, to the attention of the *grand monarque*, or to the favour of any of his ministers.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER LI.

To J—— M——, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Dec. 9, 1779.

THE Carnatic, merely by acts of oppression, has decreased in population in a greater proportion than its revenues have diminished. The gross revenues of the Nabob, comprehending the Marrawah conquest, and all other tributary claims appertaining to the nabobship, which even in his time were not much short of forty-eight to fifty lacks of pagodas, or about 2,000,000l. sterling, are at this time computed *communibus annis*, to run only from thirty to thirty-two lacks; or about 1,200,000l. Some pretend to compute them under twenty lacks of pagodas. These are melancholy reflections, the distress of which is height-

ened by a clear knowledge that the depopulation of the Carnatic, and the poverty of the prince, have enriched the dominions of an inveterate enemy *, and recruited his army with troops, regularly trained to the use of arms under British officers in the Nabob's service.

THE Rajaship of Tanjore, which is incomparably the richest spot between the Kistna and Cape Comorin, and may, in other respects, be called the key, as well as the support of all that extensive tract of country, yielded, before the late unjust revolution and violation of public faith, an annual revenue of from seventeen to twenty lacks of pagodas ; but it has been with difficulty, that ten to twelve lacks have been collected since the surrender thereof to the Rajah.

By restoring these rich countries to their original splendour, and especially by

* Hyder Ally Cawn.

bringing

bringing them to that happy degree of perfection, which nature in its bounty hath rendered them capable of attaining, what a vast addition will not be made to the trade and security, as well as to the reputation of the British nation?

THERE is scarcely a character in India so uncandidly exhibited by partisans and adversaries, or a person whose conduct has been so unfairly stated, as that of the Nabob of the Carnatic. That prince owes his greatness, and the very existence of his family, to the British nation. Of this he has ever shewed himself sensible; and has given the most ample proofs of his gratitude, not only to the English East India Company, but to individuals of the English nation.

ON the other hand, it is not less true, that the English Company owe their grandeur and success in a great measure to the uniform attachment, fidelity, and

friendship of the Nabob; to his treasures, to the pledged credit of his dominions in the days of their insignificance and distress, and to his judicious counsels and influence, when their own local and political knowledge of India was obscure and superficial. — The Company have constantly done justice to the merit of the Nabob, by the letter and spirit of every paper issuing from Leadenhall-street, wherein they were not misled by partial misrepresentations. But, removed far from the field of action, and misguided by the interested, but specious representations of their principal servants abroad, the Directors condescended to become accessaries in scenes of iniquity and guilt, at which their minds would have revolted.

AT some times deceived, defrauded, dishonoured, and insulted; and at others amused, flattered, indulged, and exalted; it is not a matter of wonder if the Nabob became suspicious, timid, wavering, and cunning.

cunning.—The moral characters of men are not so much impressed on them by the original hand of nature, as they are formed by circumstances and situations.—The Nabob of the Carnatic was naturally affable, humane, just, generous, and steady. But this excellent disposition has been changed by necessity, and a regard to self-preservation. It is only astonishing, that at an age nearer to seventy than sixty-five years, he should continue to possess such undaunted virtue as enables him to avert those dangers which are hourly hovering over his head, and at the same time preserve all the elegance of princely manners and address, with a countenance the most manly and graceful that the fancy of a painter can conceive.

THIS prince, in the vain hope of gratifying the insatiable and importunate avarice of the servants of the English East India Company, oppressed his people to such a degree, that his country became nearly

depopulated. In such circumstances, a regard to his own safety co-operating with an ambition natural to Moorish princes, he readily yielded to the gilded bait which the rapacity of British subjects held up to his view, when they persuaded him to seize upon the country of Tanjore; on pretences as foreign to justice, as they were dishonourable to the English Company, who were guarantees of the treaty of 1762, and the friends and allies of both. Hence the Nabob's misfortunes—hence he was involved in a debt of near fifty lacks of pagodas *, although he never received a just or valuable consideration for twenty. This enormous debt has accumulated, notwithstanding that by the unnatural plunder of Tanjore, as is supposed, he had enriched his treasures to the value of near as much more. Thus embarrassed; continually beset with duns and harpies, and threatened with the scourge of borrowed power; his

* 2,000,000 l.

task-masters and plunderers continually changing, and continually extorting the unconscientious price of their assumed protection and support; a state prisoner within his own palace, and restrained from receiving the compliments and visits of persons not intimately connected with the temporary protector, unless by stealth; why should it appear surprising that he, as well as his oppressors, should act the politician, and use against them their own deceitful weapons?—Such is his situation, that if he had it in his power, he dares not to pay his just debts; because he dares not to separate the *real* from the *imaginary* claims upon him; and he is totally incapable of paying the whole.

THESE very impolitic measures on the part of the Company's servants, have also wrought upon his mind to be unjust to his own family: an effect which in its consequences may prove highly prejudicial to the Company's interest. He has two sons arrived at years of maturity. The

eldest is of a mild disposition, sensible, a lover of justice, studious, and as candid and sincere as we can expect him to be, if we consider his parentage and oriental education *; but too great an attachment to his haram, has rendered him indolent, and unacquainted with business. The second is by nature artful, deceitful, insinuating, and treacherous; but able, active, and persevering in business and intrigue. The Nabob, whether through the artful insinuations of the younger, or a distrust of the passiveness of the elder, or from whatever other private cause, has apparently withdrawn his countenance and protection from the eldest son, and is wholly guided by the younger, whom he has made Generalissimo of his army, and to whom he wishes and intends to leave the succession of the Carnatic. This influence of the second son, has seduced the Nabob's heart

* There is a wide difference between the manners of the Moors and those of the Hindoos: the Moors are both subtle and ambitious; the Hindoos candid, unambitious, and contented with their situations in life.

from the English Company: he is, however, divested of the power of either good or evil; unless by secretly intriguing at the court of Poonah and its vicinity, and by corrupting the morals and fidelity of the Company's servants,

IN the present state of India, and of the Nabob's age, the interest of the Company requires an immediate settlement of the succession to the nabobship: because, if such a settlement be not made before the old prince dies, the succession will become a subject of contention between the established claim of the eldest and the hoarded treasure of the younger son; and the successor, whichever of the two he be, must give or promise crores of rupees to conciliate the countenance and protection of the Company's servants. Four things are therefore necessary to be done, without loss of time, by the East India Company.

FIRST,

FIRST, to appoint commissioners to liquidate all *British* claims upon the Nabob, by a thorough investigation of his debts, and by appropriating a specific fund for the payment of such capital sums, and legal accumulations of interest, as ought in justice and equity to be paid; and also, with the assistance of agents from the Nabob and Rajah, to liquidate all money transactions depending between these princes, fixing at the same time the conditional rights of each to their possessions, and their relations to each other.

SECONDLY, to fix the lineal succession to the nabobship in the eldest son, agreeably to the royal Firmaund, and the renunciation of the Soubah*; with a respectable

* By the Mogul Firmaund, bearing date the 26th August 1765, to the Nabob, "constituting him Governor and Nabob of the Carnatic, and the countries dependent thereon, the reversion and perpetuity thereof is unalienably granted, and specifically confirmed on the Nabob's eldest son Meyonulmuluck, Omdat-ul-Omrah, and their heirs

spectable jaghire (a pension chargeable on lands) to the second son, and the rest of the children: and to limit the succession of Tanjore, after the demise of the present possessor, and his direct lineal descendants.

THIRDLY, to establish a king's resident upon the coast (unless, upon a new system, the sovereignty shall be assumed by the crown of Britain, and a governor appointed to act under a double commission from the Crown and Company) to be a check on the rapacity of the Company's government in matters immediately relating to country princes; but on no pretext to exercise any power which might in the least

heirs for ever." Which Firmaund was ratified by the Soubah of the Decan, and his claims to the Carnatic for ever renounced, in a solemn deed or treaty, bearing date the 23d February 1768, containing the same express limitations on the Nabob's eldest son, the Omdat-ul-Omrah. Thus any act of the Nabob to alter the succession, will operate as a direct breach and forfeiture of the royal Firmaund, and of the Warrantee of the English Company to the Soubah, in the last-mentioned treaty.

interfere

interfere with the Company's trade or revenues.

AND fourthly, to secure to the Nabob every prerogative that belongs to his rank and title, and external respect from the natives who occupy the Company's jaghire lands : but to disqualify him, or any other person acting for him, or under his controul, from renting the jaghire lands, or any of the Circar lands, ceded to the Company by the royal Firmaund in 1765.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER LII.

To J—— M——, Esq. London.

Calcutta, Dec. 13, 1779.

I HAVE long flattered myself in vain, with the hopes of a journey to Europe over land. I find that I must once more commit myself to the watery element, though my health is but little suited to confinement on board a ship.—But I am pretty well inured to disappointments.

I HAVE a few more observations to make on the Company's affairs in this country. If I find an opportunity of transmitting them to you before I set sail myself, which I have some reason to expect, I will embrace it. If not, I shall carry home my own letters, as testimonies that the distance of an hemisphere has not rendered me forgetful

getful of my friends, or unmindful of my engagements.

THERE are few circumstances of a public nature that are more disreputable to the conduct of the English in India, than the plan and general government of the town of Calcutta in Bengal. There is not in the world a country, except the United Provinces, so eminently distinguished for the neatness, regularity, uniformity, and cleanliness in its cities, towns, houses, and inclosures, as England. It is nevertheless a truth, that from the western extremity of California in America to the eastern coast of Japan, there is not a spot where judgment, taste, decency, and convenience, are so grossly insulted as in that scattered and confused chaos of houses, huts, sheds, streets, lanes, alleys, windings, gutters, sinks, and tanks, which, jumbled into an undistinguished mass of filth and corruption, equally offensive to human sense and health, compose the capital of the English Company's government in India. The
very

very small portion of cleanliness which it enjoys, is owing to the familiar intercourse of hungry jackals by night, and ravenous vultures, kites, and crows by day. In like manner it is indebted to the smoke raised in public streets, in temporary huts and sheds, for any respite it enjoys from muskettoes, the natural production of stagnated and putrid waters. But while the smoke, issuing from numberless places, saves the inhabitants of Calcutta from one evil, it subjects them to another; for by endeavouring to shut it out at windows and doors, they are forced also to shut out pure air at the hours of retirement, when its use is most essential to respiration and health.

ASSUREDLY, no people upon earth have so much reason to be grateful to Providence, as those of Calcutta, for having so long miraculously preserved themselves and their properties from those dreadful devastations which naturally arise from a total neglect and abuse of fire. Every
house

house and office seems to be propped by huts (which in the language of the country are called choppers) composed of bamboos; their sides, tops, and floors being covered with mats, straw, or long grass. In these huts, formed of such inflammable materials, as well as in the public streets and vacant spaces, fires are constantly preserved, as they were of old by vestals in heathen temples. These choppers are the habitations of careless servants, palanquin bearers, coolies, and horses. They are also used for the purpose of sheltering carriages. To these choppers, or to a more suspicious cause, is the loss of more than twenty-two lacks of rupees, consumed in one of the Company's warehouses on the memorable *fifth of November last*, confidently attributed.—The public bear these nuisances with wonderful patience, although they are taxed to the extent of about 80,000 rupees annually, for the express purpose of establishing a police in Calcutta. This heavy tax is applied, in conformity with the general
maxims

maxims that direct the conduct of the Company's principal servants, to the purpose of enriching some favoured tool, under the unmeaning denomination of *Jemmadar*, and the appointment of several hundreds of inferior tyrants, oppressors, and tax-gatherers. Of the tax thus levied by authority, it is said, that a quarter part is distributed amongst *inferiors*, and the remaining three parts become the plunder of the *chief*, who openly licenses nuisances as the valuable consideration for pecuniary gratifications, formally stipulated and regularly paid. As to the under-officers of the police, they are by no means deficient in following the honourable example of the *Jemmadar*, by the connivance, or actual commission of thefts, robberies, and abuses of various kinds.

THE disease is too far advanced to be speedily remedied by the application of any medicine, however powerful its general efficacy. The property of individuals is too sacred to be violated, and too con-

considerable to be purchased; and the various prejudices, passions, and opinions of men, will never freely concur in any measure, however obvious its utility to the public. If ever the police of Calcutta be put on a proper footing, it will neither be owing to the wisdom or virtue of the Company's servants in India: the reform must originate in Leadenhall-street, and be authorised by the British parliament.

Whatever plan shall be adopted for establishing a proper police in Calcutta, may be carried into execution by a constitutional body, consisting of the governor general, the supreme council of the Indies, and a certain limited number of persons, properly qualified, and elected by the free and copy-holders of Calcutta, to represent them for these special purposes in general assembly. These three estates should be invested with legislative powers, sufficient for enacting laws for resuming, selling, throwing down, re-building, repairing, lengthening, widening, cleansing, draining,

ing,

ing, and doing every thing consistent with justice to individuals, that may be necessary for building houses, of making streets, squares, tanks, drains, and establishing a regular police within the city and precincts of Calcutta; and also for assessing and levying taxes, duties, and imposts on the inhabitants thereof, for these purposes.

As luxury is a constant attendant in all courts, so the vices that arise from luxury are enemies to commerce, manufactures, and every species of industry. It should therefore become an invariable maxim in all commercial states, to separate the seats of government from those of trade. Eastern customs have constituted pomp, parade, and courtly state, an essential principle of government. Luxury therefore, in the political constitutions of India, forms a part of their nature, or as Montesquieu would have said, of their spirit. It is absolutely necessary, to secure obedience, and a regular subordination of rank, from the prince on the throne, down to the lowest

of above twenty-seven classes of people. It will be proper to continue, for some time, the appearance of a practice so conformable to those ideas of superiority and power which prevail in the east, and which are therefore material to good government.

BUT there is not any reason why trade should imitate an example of luxury, which would not only embarrass it with intolerable charges, but which, by corrupting their minds, and enervating their constitutions, would render traders and manufacturers debauched, slothful, rapacious, and unjust.

PERHAPS it would favour both the advancement of commerce, and the scheme of re-building, and reforming the police of Calcutta, that some other place than that town should be allotted for the chief seat of government. The only part of the present city worth preserving, is upon or near the Esplanade, which is principally occupied

occupied by the immediate members of government, and courts of justice: the remaining parts of the town are composed of such base materials, that they will be demolished in a very few years by the weather. The houses upon and near the esplanade and grand tank, are capable of accommodating such a number of those who now reside in the noxious part of the town, as to enable the commissioners, after an accurate survey, and a judicious attention to particular good houses and streets, to commence in a short time the new modelling thereof, without subjecting the inhabitants to any serious inconveniences. It is notorious, that the waters which settle in Calcutta, although lower than the river when the tide is up, may be conveyed, at a small expence, to the canals or nullas which communicate with the salt lake.

THE next object of consideration should be, where to fix the seat of government. Doubtless, the wealth and superior im-

portance of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, as well as many other advantages which they possess, without reckoning up the army which is entertained and stationed in them, and the superb fortrefs of Fort William, are motives abundantly sufficient to cast the scale in their favour, if it could be supposed to remain for a moment in suspense. It is of no importance, in the choice of the seat of government, which of these provinces is the most central to the British dominions in India, as where-soever it is, it will become the general resort, especially in a country where such respect is paid to civil power, and where the principles of personal address and politeness are better understood and practised, than in any other upon earth. Justice and sound policy conspire to point out the propriety of accommodating the remote provinces with assizes and inferior courts of justice, to relieve the people from the grievous charges and personal inconveniences with which justice has of late years been purchased in Calcutta.

IN

IN the choice of the object in question, strict regard should be had to situation, water-communication, elevation, and air. Upon the banks of the Houghly, from Cadgerree to Cossimbazar, there is not so eligible a spot as that pitched upon by the representatives of the late French East India Company at Chandernagore. The elevation of that town is such, that all the rain which falls in and around it, will nearly convey itself, at all seasons of the year and tides, without obstruction, into the river. Its situation is even, its air clear, dry, and salubrious. Its soil contains such a proportion of sand, as to render it fertile by instantly absorbing the rain. The river Houghly is navigable to Chandernagore by a third rate man of war, as the late gallant Admiral Watson proved in the Kent of 74 guns; but it is not navigable for a vessel of any considerable burthen half a league higher up: a circumstance, by the way, which may give rise to an idea of facilitating the communication

munication between Calcutta and Chandernagore*, by a stone or wooden bridge over the river, below Chinsura. Various advantages in point of security, revenue, and conveniency, might arise from this communication, in which a draw-bridge should be made over one of the arches at each side, for the passage of large or masted vessels, as well as for occasional defence.

THE intimate connection between the trade of Calcutta and the navigation of the river Houghly, and its communication with the several rivers which are navigable into the Marratta territories, and to the northern and eastern extremities of Hindostan, will naturally claim all possible attention from the inhabitants of Calcutta. Wherefore, it may be thought adviseable to commit to the legislature of that city, the guardianship of these navigations, as far as the British domain doth

* They are situated on opposite sides of the Houghly.

extend.

extend. Nor is it to be doubted, when our people shall have once heartily engaged in the improvement of these navigations, that the force of example, manifest advantage, and British influence, will induce the neighbouring princes to pursue, throughout their dominions, the same plans for the general benefit. The difficulties which the Company's administration allege, in excuse for their own negligence of so important an object as the improvement of the navigation of the Houghly, would doubtless excite the indignation of every Englishman, if they were not so much calculated to move his ridicule. The means of overcoming these difficulties are assuredly very easy and simple.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER LIII.

To J—M—, Esq. London.

Calcutta, Dec. 18, 1779.

THE present mode of administering justice, under the sanction of a British act of parliament, in Bengal, is a subject which calls aloud for public attention and speedy relief. This dreadful evil threatens the extinction of the British power and property in India. Corruption hath usurped the sacred seat of justice, and, shielded by the power of a venal government, hath held quiet possession of this station for six lingering years, without even the veil of hypocrisy to shade the horrors of oppression and savage violence. Here, however, I might joyfully remark a single exception, in the soul of Sir R—t Ch——rs, had Nature, extending

tending to this amiable person her kind liberality, fortified his virtue with resolution to withstand magisterial frowns and supercilious arrogance. The mind, overwhelmed with a confusion of cruel, iniquitous, and violent decisions and executions, is incapable of arranging the various ideas that occur upon this subject of horror. On this account, however, there is the less cause of regret, that the united voice of the whole people has accompanied an humble address to parliament, with an authentic state of facts, which sufficiently paint their deplorable situations. What must be the tormenting feelings of those persons, who recommended to their sovereign, to invest such men with the most sacred and important of his own prerogatives, when they come to discover, that the people who were intended to be made happy under a mild and steady administration of impartial justice, are labouring under the unrelenting scourge of judicial tyrants?

LET

Let the protectors of such men demonstrate their disappointment and concern at their conduct, by yielding them up as sacrifices to that justice which they have so heinously offended. This is the only atonement in their power to make to an injured people : it will suffice, and the example will deter others from treading in their abominable paths.

THE memorial and state of facts to which I allude, are said to disclose a scene of proceedings which, by being irrefutable, cannot fail to be redressed, even without their being carried before parliament ; unless the neglect of not communicating their contents to the parties complained of, before they were transmitted to Europe, should render it necessary to hear the accused in their own defence, lest an *ex parte* decision, however strong, credible, and authentic the accompanying testimonies, should establish a precedent which might justify their own measures ; or unless his Majesty, in compassion

passion to the sufferings of five thousand British subjects, and twelve millions of Indians, should be graciously pleased to order the accused home, to answer for themselves in Westminster-hall.

BUT the condemnation and execution of Nundocomar; the violent imprisonment and deaths of the native judges, in the cause of the Begum of Patna; the impolitic outrage on the person, zenana, household gods, and property, of the Rajah of Cossijurah; and many other acts of notorious injustice, cry aloud for examples of just vengeance upon the spot where the abominable deeds were perpetrated; in order to convince all Asia, that they had neither the authority nor sanction of the British government, and that, however the streams may be polluted, the fountain of British justice is yet uncorrupted.

THE mention of one circumstance may alone suffice, to give an idea of the rapacity of the supreme court of judicature in Bengal,
and

and of the deplorable state of that country, over which it extends its iniquitous jurisdiction.—On a medium computation, it has been found, that the fees of processes and writs issuing from the supreme court, have amounted annually to the enormous sum of four hundred and twenty-six thousand pounds sterling. What must be the entire sum which, according to this specimen, is exacted by the several members of this arbitrary and oppressive court?

THE story of Nundocomar, to which I have alluded, is briefly as follows:

MAHA RAJAH NUNDOCOMAR was a priest of the highest order in the Bramin cast, and a prince. His family and cast served only as leading steps to the ranks which he had long occupied in the administration of government in the subahship of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; his distinguished abilities, address, and knowledge, procured him the unbounded confidence and direction of the Muxhadabad Durbar.—His
character

character for intrigue, and in private life, made him obnoxious to many; and his power naturally created jealousy and rivalry.—What in any country, and especially in Europe, would have been distinguished and applauded as virtue and pure patriotic zeal, was held criminal by the Company's servants, and their native adherents.—He beheld, with jealousy and anguish, the growing dominion of Europeans and Christians in Hindostan, and the consequent decay of native government, influence, and freedom. He saw his prince bearing a shadow of power, supporting a sham-court, and every day retrenching his rights and affected prerogatives. — His own interest, doubtless, led the Bramin to view these innovations with concern and discontent, and the same motive might have stimulated his desires to disconcert them.—Whether these were the real causes of suspicion in the presidency of Fort William, or whether the minister of the present Nabob Mabarak-ul-Dowla, was not so lavish of his *minor*

master's lacks as was expected ; it was their will and pleasure to seize the person of the minister of Nundocomar, to conduct him to Calcutta, and to detain him a prisoner, under a military guard, until the arrival of the supreme council, in October 1774.

AFTER having borne marks of European despotism, in being punished for imaginary delinquencies, it was imagined, that his nature thenceforward would be pliant and condescending.—His capacity and intrigue were thought useful qualifications to work upon General Clavering, in the capacity of banyan to the second in council and military commander in chief, and to second the views of the governor general, whom he was to serve, all the while, in the character of a spy, and as a pensioner. The plan was laid, and the Maha Rajah was willing to undertake the two-fold office of banyan and spy. But the general had had a previous recommendation, and his promise was inviolable.

THE civil chief disappointed, renounced the Bramin; who, on his part (not unmindful of past sufferings, and dreading more) finding that the ministry of the Nabobship of Bengal, and the distribution of money, became subjects of investigation by the superior board, exhibited to that board, a state of some pecuniary applications, amounting to such direct charges against the governor general, as would have involved forfeitures of place and money.

To prevent the operation of the immediate charge by Nundocomar, and to prevent similar acts by other natives, became the necessary subject of secret deliberation. It was discovered, that about nine years before the passing of the British statute law, to constitute a court of judicature, and to establish laws within the town of Calcutta, and the limited precincts of the subordinate factories, extending only to natives in the service of the Company, or who voluntarily chose to submit any deci-

sion to that jurisdiction, Nundocomar was suspected of having, in the adjustment of some executer'ship committed to him by a deceased friend of his own country and kindred, forged a name to a receipt for money.—Upon this charge a warrant was issued out against him, though detained by force in Calcutta ; and he was committed to close prison.

It is necessary to make you acquainted with such of the Gentoo tenets and the Hindoo laws, as relate to the present cause. The Gentoo religion enjoins ablu-tion, by daily washing the whole body, and washing of hands before and after every meal ; that persons of different *casts* shall not eat together ; that the food of one *cast* shall not be dressed in the same vessel that the food of another *cast* has been dressed in, nor be dressed by any other *cast* ; that it shall be dressed upon the earth ; and that these ablutions and refreshments shall be performed out of the view of others, or in private. By the Hindoo laws

laws and customs, and particularly by reason of these religious principles, persons are never confined in prison for crimes or for debts : a guard is placed over their own houses, or over others houses where the persons confined can exercise the rites, &c. enjoined by religion.—Forgery is only denominated a *fraud* in any person, and punished by mulcts ; but no offence whatever is capitally criminal in a Bramin, except state crimes, heinous murders, and sacrilege ; nor is it allowed by their laws to execute the sentence of death, but by spilling the blood with the edge of a sword.—Strangling is disallowed *particularly* ; because in the spilling of blood, they conceive that crimes are expiated.—These being their principles of religious faith, confinements and executions which violate them, operate as a double punishment, and aggravate the public injury.—The laws of his country were not observed towards Nundocomar ; the pretended forgery was committed nine years before the British law was enacted, and the law it-

self expressly stipulated the subsequent period at which the penal clauses were to have effect, viz. the first of August 1774.

WHEN the forgery was said to have been committed, the civil government was conducted by the Nabob, and the Hindoo laws administered by his judges, and in his courts.—The author of this forgery was the Nabob's prime minister, and the person aggrieved was his subject; neither of them were in the service of the Company, or subject in any ways to their jurisdiction.—Nundocomar, after having exhibited charges in the supreme council against the governor general, and prepared to prove them, was seized for this forgery, and thrown into the common prison with felons and debtors, whose company to a Gentoo was pollution; he wanted the means of performing the ablutions and indispensable rites of his religious faith and his cast, and of observing the necessary rules of preserving life,
in

in the mode of dressing and eating his food.

THE governor general refused the competency of the supreme council to take cognizance of any charges against, or crimes imputed to him; but it was necessary to remove the bold testimony of Nundocomar, and by his example to deter others in future. His own, and the supplications of others, to the judges, in behalf of the Bramin, for such indulgences as were consonant to his religion, cast, and civil station, were disregarded. It is confidently alledged, that both witnesses and lawyers were brow-beat at the bar of this tribunal. Mr. W. W— and Mr. J. L—, two gentlemen of the most unblemished characters, and of unshaken integrity, incapable of being influenced, were thought improper persons to remain upon the corrected *venire* of the sheriff, when the trial came on.—Every plea against the application of the late act of parliament, upon *ex post facto* principles, and various other

matters, were urged in vain. All the bench, except Sir Robert Chambers, declared, that he was amenable to that law. He was found guilty; condemned to be hanged; and was publicly executed within a few paces of Fort William, to the utter astonishment and terror of all Hindostan.— This answered all the purposes of the conspirators; the charge against the governor general dropt, and no native of India has dared to hint a censure against an European member of government in Hindostan ever since. The trial published in England, is universally declared, on this side, to be spurious and false. A narrative of the proceedings in council at that time, printed by order of the Court of Directors, contains many of the atrocious abuses committed on this unhappy Prince and Bramin.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER LIV.

To J— M—, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Dec. 21, 1779.

THE avowed system of the present governor general, is to support his own power, by providing for his partizans and favourites, in defiance of the Company's orders, and at their expence. By various contracts which he has made, in the name of the Company, with individuals, during the current year, his constituents are injured at least one million sterling. The most important articles in the statement of facts which are the foundation of this heavy charge, will appear upon the Company's records. You would, doubtless, be but little entertained by a minute review of the bullock contract; the contract for victualling the army;

that for victualling Fort William; the Budge-row and Pool-bundy contracts; contracts with Mr. A—ms; with Mr. S—n; with Dr. C—ll; with Captain F—d; with Colonel P—r; with M. V—r H—n, &c. &c. But among the various abuses committed under the reign of the present *ruler* of Bengal, there are some that may not, perhaps, be thought wholly unentertaining. Mr. T—r, who had amassed a capital fortune by contracting with the Company for elephants, was willing to treat, this year, with the supreme council, on the same terms on which he had contracted with them formerly; but the governor general insisted, that his demand was not high enough.—The salary of the *attorney* in the supreme court, was advanced, as an inducement *not* to do the express duty of his nomination, and to decline the defence of the Company's rights and property. An ambassador was appointed to the Lama of Thibet, at a heavy monthly

monthly charge, but never sent.—Captain P——r, the governor's military secretary, at an enormous monthly charge, was sent as an ambassador to the poor distressed Rana of Gohud, to witness the execution of a sham-treaty, which had already had all the authenticity which the custom of the East required.

THE post of president at the court of Asoph-ul-Dowla, the Nabob of Oude, is one of those appointments, which, the annual distribution of about a million pounds sterling, renders an object worthy of the acceptance of a prince of the first blood royal in Europe. Mr. N——l M——n having executed this trust to the entire satisfaction of his friends, and the impoverishment of the country, it was thought a compliment due to the new associate of the governor, the ribboned knight, to bestow it on one of his friends. He named Mr. H——a; who, on his part, unwilling to trust to events, and the caprice of human nature, posted away with

the greatest expedition, to seize the golden fleece, expecting his credentials to follow him. Unfortunately, he reckoned without his host: his departure was premature, for he had not settled preliminaries; his conduct was resented; and Mr. C——s H——n P——g, a kinsman of lady C——'s was appointed to the residency.

MR. P——G moved across from his station at Rungpore, to take charge of the Vizier's country and treasures in Lucknow, *and to procure a proper reception for his benefactor*, who followed him in great state and pomp to review the army at their several cantonments. But alas! the fleece was already closely shorn. Empty caskets, exhausted treasures, a depopulated and uncultivated country, exposed to the melancholy eye dreary wastes, and blasted hopes to the afflicted mind. Even the preconcerted appearance and pomp of Saudit Ally, the ambitious brother, and rancorous enemy of the Nabob, who accompanied

panied the general from an exile in Calcutta, as an engine of terror, the common instrument of extortion in Hindostan, could not, on this occasion, perform miracles, and produce precious metals, and stones out of assignments on zemindaries that were abandoned.—When we attend to the disappointment of the eager Mr. Hosea, and of the pompous military commander, we are moved with laughter; but we feel emotions of another kind, when we reflect on the miserable state to which the princes of Hindostan are reduced by European tyranny. The country of the Nabob is every where laid waste; manufactures are extirpated; all avenues to the Persian and inland trade are obstructed; and the body of the people have fled for succour, and the very means of existence, to their late avowed and inveterate enemies, the Marrattas and the Jauts. It is confidently alledged, that, were the Company to move the brigade which is stationed in the province of Oude, out of it, the Nabob, with his
LETTER whole

whole court and dependents, would be cut to pieces by his own enraged and oppressed subjects.—But the distress of this prince will best appear from the inclosed extract of a letter of Mr. Purling's, the resident at the Nabob's court, dated at Lucknow, Nov. 19, 1779, and from the translation, which I herewith send you, of a letter from the Nabob to the resident *.

MR.

* I have in vain laid before him (the Vizier and Nabob of Oude) the ruinous consequences of a dismissal of any part of the troops which are now employed under the command of British officers, the certain deficiency in the collections, and the laying his country open to foreign invaders. I have in vain urged him, on the glaring impropriety of refusing Tuncaws upon the same districts as last year, and giving them to his own troops without discipline, to support his government; and always ready to plunder every country to which they have been sent.—His answer has been invariable, that while he had the means of providing for the demands of the Company, he had never refused it, but he is now deprived of that ability by the drought, which has obliged him to give deductions to the amount of twenty-five lacks of rupees; and even now, the Aumils are desirous of being released from their engagements, upon the plea of inability to comply with them: his family, and that of his father
and

MR. PURLING's and the Vizier's letters being read at a consultation in the secret department

and grand-father, after repeated promises made to them, and broken, are still unprovided for : that he did not believe the council meant to seize the expences of his table and household, which was all that was now left him. When I quitted him, I declared, that I did not imagine the governor and council would ever consent to the reform of the new brigade, and the other present establishments for his collections ; that if they were not dismissed they must be paid, and from the sources of that country for the protection of which they were raised ; that I would have him for the present to consider the means of granting the supplies, in the hopes of an answer, more likely to be pleasing to our government. A day or two afterwards I received a letter from him, a translate of which (N^o 3.) I think it necessary to lay before you. As I have never been able to induce his excellency to adopt any other sentiments than those he first declared ; and have received another letter from him, expressing much dissatisfaction at my urgency, on a point he had determined on, and would not give up, unless he should be compelled by the governor and council ; I have thought it needless to press him farther at present ; but at his request have transmitted a letter from him to the governor general, setting forth his distress.

In this situation, it only remains for me to lay before you the following extract of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton's letter of the 5th instant, the day on which the charge was delivered to me.

“ When

department the 13th instant, the governor general recommended the following draught

“ When I have of late pressed his Excellency for further assignments, he has pleaded inability to answer the very heavy demands which will this year fall upon him, on account of the drought which has unfortunately happened, to the almost destruction of the Khurriff harvest, and the consequent diminution of his revenue. I am concerned to confess, there are but too good grounds for this plea. The misfortune has been general throughout the whole of the Vizier's dominions, obvious to every body; and so very fatal have been its consequences, that no person of either credit or character, would enter into engagements with government for farming the country, without a very heavy deduction in the last year's jumma; which his excellency has been compelled to allow to all who have been appointed to farms; and some who have engaged under these circumstances, have, to my knowledge, made most urgent applications to the Nabob and his ministers, to be released from their obligations, and allowed to relinquish their farms, which they found they could not hold but at a certain loss to themselves.

“ You will soon be convinced, by undoubted testimony and loud complaints from every quarter, of the reality of this misfortune, which has necessarily been the means of delaying the general settlement of the country, and of preventing my hitherto getting assignments for more than rupees 68,82,000—but how far its operation and effects preclude the Nabob from answering the demands upon him on public account, you will be the best able to judge from

draught of a letter to be written to Mr. Purling, which, if agreed to, might serve as the substance of one to be written on the same subject to the Nabob.

To from the statements you will obtain of his estimated revenue."

As it appears from the whole of this extract, that Mr. Middleton had met with obstacles, from a reason assigned, which no human foresight could prevent, I hope your honourable board will not imagine I have been remiss or inattentive. Nothing but a compulsive order from you, upon an undefined right, could obtain the collection of a rupee more than I have Tuncaws for; and nothing but a decisive and speedy instruction from you, when the time lapsed may not occasion a material loss in the revenue, can possibly procure the grants necessary for the current disbursements from my treasury.

Upon this principle it is needless to add, that no bill from the presidency can possibly be answered, since the demands on the treasury upon the present establishments, exceed the expected income; and the last drafts of the honourable board, and their order for the payment of two lacks of rupees to Captain Popham, which has been complied with, have so effectually drained the treasury, that I have not yet been able to pay the first brigade for October.

Translation

*To Mr. CHARLES PURLING, Resident at
the Vizier's Court.*

S I R,

“We have received your letter of the
19th November, stating the objections of
the

*Translation of a letter from the Vizier to the Resident at
his Court.*

The friendship between the honourable Company,
Mr. Hastings, governor general, supreme council, and
myself, has not the least shadow of disunion. Dominion,
property, and honour, are but one and the same to
us.

The situation of my affairs respecting the present time,
I informed Mr. Middleton of, both by writing and con-
versation; and I now proceed to lay the whole before
you.

During *these three years past*, the expence occasioned by
the troops in brigade, and others commanded by European
officers, has much distressed the support of my household,
insomuch that the allowance made to the seraglio and
children of the deceased Nabob, has been reduced to one
fourth part of what it was; upon which they have sub-
sisted in a very distressed manner for these two years past.
The attendants, writers, servants, &c. of my court, have
received no pay for these two years; and there is at present

the Nabob to the immediate discharge of the sums due from his government, for

no part of the country that can be allotted to the payment of my father's private creditors, whose applications are daily pressing upon me.—All these difficulties I have for these three years past struggled through, and found this consolation therein, that it was complying with the pleasure of the honourable Company, and in the hope that the supreme council would make enquiry, *from impartial persons*, into my distressed situation. But I am now forced into a representation. From the great increase of expence, the revenues were necessarily farmed at a high rate; and deficiencies followed yearly. The country and cultivation are abandoned; and this year in particular, from the excessive drought of the season, deductions of many lacks have been allowed the farmers, who are still left unsatisfied; and I have received but just sufficient to support my absolute necessities; and for this reason, many of the old Chieftains, with their troops and useful attendants of the court, were forced to leave it, and now there is left only a few foot and horse for the collection of the revenues; and should the zemindars be refractory, there is not a sufficient number to reduce them to the obedience of my collectors.

The late raised brigade at Futtugur, is not only quite useless to my government, but is moreover the cause of much loss both in the revenues and customs; the detached body of troops under other European officers, bring no-

for the expences of the current year. The principle on which these objections are made, appears to us so repugnant to the Nabob's engagements with the Company, and with the intimate connection of his interests and theirs, that we cannot think but confusion to the affairs of government, and are entirely their own masters.

In this distressed state of my affairs, it is just and requisite, that Mr. Hastings, General Mr. Eyre Coote, and the supreme council, should give me relief.—This year I cannot possibly provide for the new brigade at Futtygur, the corps of horse, and other detached bodies of troops in my country. I hope you will consider well these representations, and explain them in a manner you may judge proper to the governor general and supreme council.—On my part, country, property, and life, are devoted to the will of the honourable Company, and I hope they will therefore do justice to these my complaints, and prevent my falling into distress, by not having wherewith to support the necessary expences of my household. For the expence of the brigade at Cawn Pore, and other disbursements, I have given Tuncaws and orders upon my country; the remainder of my revenue, on account of the drought, has fallen so short as not to be sufficient for my necessary expences, being deficient to the amount of fifteen lacks, and the above provision will bring upon me this year very great distress.—What can I say more?

hesitate

hesitate a moment to declare them totally inadmissible; and as we have no doubt of the Nabob's ability to furnish the sums absolutely necessary for the service of the year, we require you to repeat the demand in writing, to give weight and efficacy to your requisition. We have judged it expedient to advise him formally by letter, of your being authorized to make it, and that we expect his ready and chearful acquiescence in it. In the present circumstances of his government, and of ours, to disband any part of the troops that we maintain for his service, is a measure no less improper for him to suggest, than it would be for us to adopt. He stands engaged to our government to maintain the English armies, which at his own request have been formed for the protection of his dominions; and it is our part, not *his*, to judge, and to determine in what manner, and *at what time*, these shall be reduced or withdrawn: but were it otherwise, this is not the time to propose it, when we are threatened with external dan-

gers common to both, which require rather an augmentation than a diminution of the means which we possess for repelling them. That this gives us cause for the most alarming suspicions, since he cannot be ignorant that the Marrattas, our enemies, and the ancient enemies of his government and family, are in arms, and a war unavoidable. That at such a juncture, a proposition for discharging any part of his forces, cannot fail to encourage them to attack his dominions. That the advice of his ministers, who have instigated him to make it, will, we persuade ourselves, appear to him as insidious as it is dangerous; and that we hope he will dismiss them from his service and confidence, as unworthy of both.

We are, &c."

THIS letter having been read, the governor general said—I would further propose, that a copy of this letter, or such other as it shall be agreed to write upon this occasion, be transmitted to the commander

mander in chief; and that he be requested to assist with his personal influence and application to the Nabob, to give it effect.

It was agreed — That this subject should lie for consideration.

This important subject was resumed by the governor and council on Wednesday the 15th. I send you a copy of their reasonings on this interesting occasion*, which will serve to give you a just idea of the opposite principles that divide the supreme council. On the arguments of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis, I shall make no comment; both these gentlemen possess the most happy talents for writing: and if Mr. Francis ever become a member of the House of Commons, I will venture to predict, that he will soon be ranked among the very first speakers.

I am, &c.

* See Appendix C.

LETTER LV.

To J—— M——, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Dec. 23, 1779.

I AM now to fulfil my promise, to give you a particular account of the day, as it is commonly spent by an Englishman in Bengal.

ABOUT the hour of seven in the morning, his durvan (porter or door-keeper) opens the gate, and the viranda (gallery) is free to his circars, peons (footmen) harcarrahs (messengers or spies) chubdars (a kind of constables) huccabadars and consumas (or steward and butler) writers and solicitors. The head-bearer and jemmadar enter the hall, and his bed-room at eight o'clock. A lady
quits

quits his side, and is conducted by a private stair-case, either to her own apartment, or out of the yard. The moment the master throws his legs out of bed, the whole posse in waiting rush into his room, each making three salams, by bending the body and head very low, and touching the forehead with the inside of the fingers, and the floor with the back part. He condescends, perhaps, to nod or cast an eye towards the solicitors of his favour and protection. In about half an hour after undoing and taking off his long drawers, a clean shirt, breeches, stockings, and slippers, are put upon his body, thighs, legs, and feet, without any greater exertion on his own part, than if he was a statue. The barber enters, shaves him, cuts his nails, and cleans his ears. The chillumjee and ewer are brought by a servant, whose duty it is, who pours water upon his hands, to wash his hands and face, and presents a towel. — The superior then walks in state to his breakfasting parlour in his waistcoat; is seated; the confumah

makes and pours out his tea, and presents him with a plate of bread or toast. The hair-dresser comes behind, and begins his operation, while the huccabadar softly slips the upper end of the snake or tube of the houcca * into his hand. While the hair-dresser is doing his duty, the gentleman is eating, sipping, and smoking by turns. By and bye, his banian presents himself with humble salams, and advances somewhat more forward than the other attendants. If any of the solicitors are of eminence, they are honoured with chairs.—

* The houcca is the machine from which the smoke of tobacco and aromatics are inhaled, through a tube of several feet, or even yards in length, which is called a snake. To shew the deference or indulgence shewn by ladies to the practice of smoking, I need but transcribe a card for the governor general and his lady's concert and supper.

Mr. and Mrs. H — s present their compliments to Mr. —, and request the favour of his company to a concert and supper on Thursday next, at Mrs. H — s's house in town.

1st October, 1779.

The concert to begin at eight o'clock.

Mr. — is requested to bring no servants except his huccabadar.

These

These ceremonies are continued perhaps till ten o'clock; when, attended by his cavalcade, he is conducted to his palanquin, and preceded by eight to twelve chubdars, harcarrahs, and peons, with the insignia of their professions, and their livery distinguished by the colour of their turbans and cumberbands (a long muslin belt wrapt round the waist;) they move off at a quick amble; the set of bearers, consisting of eight generally, relieve each other with alertness, and without incommoding the master. If he has visits to make, his peons lead and direct the bearers; and if business renders his PRESENCE ONLY necessary, he shews himself, and pursues his other engagements until two o'clock, when he and his company sit down, perfectly *at ease* in point of dress and address, to a good dinner, each attended by his own servant. And the moment the glasses are introduced, regardless of the company of ladies, the houccabadars enter, each with a houcca, and presents the tube to his master, watching

These

ing behind and blowing the fire the whole time. As it is expected that they shall return to supper, at four o'clock they begin to withdraw without ceremony, and step into their palanquins; so that in a few minutes, the master is left to go into his bedroom, when he is instantly undressed to his shirt, and his long drawers put on; and he lies down on his bed, where he sleeps till about seven or eight o'clock: then the former ceremony is repeated, and clean linen of every kind, as in the morning, is administered; his huccabadar presents the tube to his hand, he is placed at the tea table, and his hair-dresser performs his duty as before. After tea, he puts on a handsome coat, and pays visits of ceremony to the ladies: returns a little before ten o'clock; supper being served at ten. The company keep together till between twelve and one in the morning, preserving great sobriety and decency; and when they depart, our hero is conducted to his bedroom, where he finds a female companion,
to

to amuse him until the hour of seven or eight next morning. — With no greater exertions than these, do the Company's servants amass the most splendid fortunes.

I am, &c.

Yours &c. J. M. Esq. London.

Calcutta, Dec. 23. 1779.

LETTER 6 P 6
 bed-room at eight o'clock. A lady
 writers and solicitors. The head-bearer
 and continuance for the steward and butler
 that of a kind of (constables) (bueasbadars)
 haccharis (messengers) or (piss) chup-
 is fixed to his side as a (footmen)
 opens the gate, and the (vizards) (gallery)
 ing, this duxian (porter) or (door-keeper)
 is about the head of the lever in the morn-
 from being elegant and interesting, what is
 man in Bengal is particularly noted for
 as this commonly (best by an English-
 you a particular account of the day.
 I AM now to fulfil my promise, to give

ous, resentful, and implacable.—You will
be able to form some idea of his great op-
ponent, Mr. Fr—, when I tell you,
that this gentleman has uniformly opposed

LETTER LVI.

the measures of the overbearing g—
g—, with the greatest firmness and
To J— M—, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Dec. 25, 1779.

THE present governor g— of
B— is doubtless a person of un-
common abilities. He is a fine writer,
and though his personal address is so far
from being elegant and insinuating, that it
is inelegant and forbidding in the highest
degree; yet, by a natural vigour of mind,
and an haughty boldness, he is fitted to ac-
quire an ascendant over minds more virtu-
ous and delicate, but also more timid and
irresolute. His success in life has con-
spired with the natural haughtiness of his
temper to render him ambitious, imperi-
ous,

ous, resentful, and implacable.—You will be able to form some idea of his great opponent, Mr. Fr——s, when I tell you, that this gentleman has uniformly opposed the measures of the overbearing g——r g——l, with the greatest firmness and spirit, though, unfortunately for his country, not with success.

ONE of the great causes of the erroneous conduct of Mr. H——s, and of those who support his measures, is, as I conceive, an opinion that “fear and hatred are the universal springs of action in the peninsula of Hindostan.” I shall not controvert this opinion. The very spirit and principle of despotic governments is fear, which in its nature implies an hatred of its object: besides, the dissolution of the Mogul empire into an infinite number of petty states, whose different claims are an endless source of strife, has contributed, in an eminent degree, to establish the truth of that odious doctrine. But if the Hindoo princes,

as well as their subjects, are chiefly governed by hatred and fear, it by no means follows that they may not also be won by gentle and mild treatment. If they are impelled in fact in their general conduct by the scourge of fear, does it follow that they may not, by the exercise of generosity and justice, be drawn by the cords of love? Let these opposite principles, of love and hatred, be united in a wise system of policy, the one to encourage and invite the good, and the other to check and controul the bad. The security of property will prevent prejudice and hatred from occupying good minds; and the fear of justice will deter the vicious. To govern kingdoms by a system founded in hatred and fear, can never be the project of a politician who looks beyond the present time, and studies the permanency of the state, as well as the happiness of the subject: for, while protection, liberty, and justice, the plentiful sources of industry, contentment, and felicity, endear the governors to those that

are

are governed, and secure the state at once from internal broils and foreign conquests; slavery, oppression, and injustice, the direful springs of human misery, in their very nature point to change and revolution.

I ADMIT, and there is no doubt, that the British power in India is to be preserved only by a respect and dread of the British name; nevertheless, it should be an invariable maxim, to make a distinction between what degree of fear the exigency of affairs may require, and what may be thought necessary by an ambition of conquest.

It is much to be regretted, that the just and mild views which direct the conduct of Messrs. Fr——s and W——z, do not predominate also in the mind of Sir E——e C——e, a name which fame had placed in an honourable and conspicuous light. This gentleman accepted a seat at

the supreme council board of India, and the chief command of all the Company's troops; diffusing hopes, as well to the nation as to the proprietary, that the successor to Sir J—n C——g would follow the footsteps of a man, whose unshaken integrity was stimulated by a native pride, and whose death will ever be lamented by the friends of Britain, of justice, and of humanity.

BUT to be grateful, by yielding returns in kind, would seem to have been the new-adopted creed of this general, and junior member of council; and to propagate so generous a principle, would seem to have been the chief end of his present visit to India. For, having an immense fortune in possession, formerly acquired there, and no actual posterity to inherit it; and having attained to the distinguished honour, title, and rank just mentioned, at a very advanced age, and with an infirm state of health, he could

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have

have no other object in view, unless the usual companion of age and dotage, sordid avarice, urged him to a measure, which unhappily has tarnished the lustre of his former name : or that, perceiving by inspiration, or by private intelligence, the plain determined purposes of the principal leading servants in India, to subvert the constitution, and ruin the interests of the Company, he conceived the happy thought, that the sooner it was effected, the better it would be for the Company's successors, *of whatever nation*, which his helping hand would hasten, while himself, as well as his friends, would partake of the spoils. Perhaps, as age and infirmity are known to reduce men of first-rate abilities to a second state of infancy, it is more than possible, that baubles, composed of sparkling gems and precious metals, may have been deposited in his cabinet, as toys to amuse him ; and being strongly tinctured with the enthusiasm of religion, he may naturally think it a *religious* duty,

to do unto others, as they have done unto him. This rare idea must have been deeply imprinted on his mind, when he expressed himself so elaborately in the conclusion of a minute, on the subject-matter of the famous victualling contract, viz. "However, had I not these fundamental principles to induce me to support the governor general's motion, I should still most heartily join in it, from the long knowledge I have of the merits of the contractor, Mr. Belli." To comment on an argument and justification so consistent with the laws of *personal friendship*, and the abuse of a sacred trust, would be to arraign the capacity and understanding of those who shall happen to see or hear it. The whole tenor of the conduct of this *once* gallant officer, creates pity and astonishment, when it is considered as an infirmity peculiar to age, and an impaired constitution. But considering it in its effects, our charitable feelings are compelled to yield to others, which

which draw a veil over the splendor of military achievements, stain the lustre of former merit, and insensibly beget contempt.

THE knight militant had solemnly engaged, before he left Britain, to make the interests of the Company, and the dignity of the nation, the primary objects of his study and care; and to execute to the extent of his abilities, and the authority vested in him, the orders and instructions of his employers. At the Cape of Good Hope, on his passage out, at Madras, and even after landing in Bengal, he in the strongest terms openly and frequently reprobated the conduct of Mr. Hastings, with declarations expressive of a decided opposition to his measures. But alas! his resolution failed him to that extraordinary degree, that he condescended to correct minutes, already recorded, which had originally sprung from the conviction of an honest veteran, and servilely submitted to fashion them to the ideas and views of a man who had formerly assisted to drive him out of In-

dia*. The first action in India, which distinguished his public conduct, has already been mentioned, as a measure contrary to the law of nations, and a violation of a sacred treaty: I mean his enlisting, and placing as his body-guard, the natural-born French capitulant soldiers, taken prisoners at Pondicherry. His unmilitary, unjust, and absurd regulations of the army, consisting of about one thousand articles, and occupying about as many folios of paper, had nearly been productive of very serious effects, at a very critical juncture; but the palpable inconsistencies contained in them, converted the just discontent and resentments which at first agitated the minds of spirited officers, into pity in some, contempt in others, and ridicule in all†. One of the objects of his

Asiatic

* Minutes after his arrival, concerning the miscarriage of the expedition from Bombay against Poonah.

† One instance in general orders, which is literally taken from the Calcutta Gazette, will prove this allegation to any military gentleman.

General

Asiatic expedition, appears to have been the claim and possession of the lands and house

“ General Orders by the Commander in Chief.

“ Futtugur, January 22, 1780.

“ The commander in chief, with the most unfeigned pleasure, adopts this public method of justifying the satisfaction he has received, during his residence in this truly military cantonment. The common-place language of the mere approbation of a reviewing general, bears no part in this address; the sentiments flow from a more expanded and liberal source, the effusions of Sir Eyre Coote’s feelings, at proving the troops at this station so highly distinguished and finished in their discipline, and so worthy of every encouragement within the power of their commander in chief to bestow on them. Matters of fact alone appear the strongest eulogium that approval could direct on the subject; we need only advert to the reviews and exercises of this week, to ascertain the justness of this action. Lieutenant Colonel Wilding, and the corps of officers, deserve the general’s thanks for their unwearied attentions, that have placed the detachment at Futtugur in the most conspicuous point of view. The laurel seemed always to the right of the reviewing corps, till the succeeding day erased every idea of distinction, and left the military judge undetermined where to give the preference. The general desires, that both Europeans and natives may have his sentiments of their appearance and deserts, made known to them in the fullest manner; and that their

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steadiness

house of Ghyrotty, under a vague, or rather imaginary title, unsubstantiated by deed, or even oral testimony, efficient in law or equity; which, however, was deemed sufficiently legal by his accommodated and accommodating colleagues, who granted the possession to his simple *ipse dixit*.

To gratify, however, in more essential instances, the ruling passion of a person, whose vote at the supreme board became highly consequential at the very important crisis then approaching, by the power he possessed, of casting the ponderous scale to either of the contending sides, and which would of course, deprive the governor general of the double vote which he exercised when the board, consisting only of four members, were equally divided; the knight, pausing, felt his steadiness and discipline, convinces him, that whenever actual service gives them opportunity, they will amply repay their officers for their pains taken, and approve themselves highly disciplined troops in the fullest extent of the word."

own importance weighed in the flattering scale of ambition, and set upon it an Asiatic value.—People scruple not (in India) to rate this *newly-imported* influence, at a price of enormous magnitude, under an appellation better understood in the languages of the east, than those of Europe or the west.—*Public* gratifications appeared, first, in the advance of above twenty thousand pounds sterling a year, in addition to sixteen thousand pounds, to which his annual salaries and emoluments, as commander in chief of the army, and a member of the supreme council, were restricted by act of parliament, and positive orders from the Company.—Indeed, he shewed more moderation in the demand made by himself, of succeeding only to the emoluments of commander in chief, as enjoyed by Brigadier General Stibbert (who had no seat in council, nor established salary affixed to the chief command) whom he had superseded, than his devoting friends shewed in his behalf. These hav-

ing the true knowledge of good and evil, of his importance, and withal, a grateful sense of the advantages and security which they had already derived, and were yet to derive from his apostacy, fresh in their remembrance, easily over-ruled the principles of moderation and justice, and reprobated the unmercenary ideas of the general, by construing the pretended ambiguity in the instructions which had accompanied General Clavering in 1774, and Sir Eyre himself since (1778) into a liberality very inconsistent with the Company's wonted moderation, and very different from the literal interpretation of their expressions. And Sir Eyre was humbly prayed, by his faithful friends, to accept and receive, as a mark of their gratitude and affection, the paltry sum of 22,800 pounds annually, out of the revenues belonging to their constituents, in addition to his established appointments; and also, to consent that the second in command, Brigadier General Sibbert

Sibbert, be gratified in the receipt of near 10,000 pounds a year, over and above his legal appointments, to which he had no other claims than the profuse liberality of the dispensers of favours.

I am, &c.

LETTER

of Corah to the confines of Agra and Delhi. They also occupy a large district of country on the north side of the Ganges, teaching eastward to the province of Oud,

and northward to uninhabited mountains. The annual revenues of these provinces, without opposition, exceeded two crores of

To J— M—, Esq; London.
rupees (two millions English) and their
Calcutta, Dec. 29, 1779.

IN my letter of the 20th September, I observed, that about a third part of the Company's territories under the presidency of Bengal, had grown up into woods, and become the residence of wild beasts; the human inhabitants having been forced to abandon their native country by the unrelenting hand of European rapacity and oppression. I am now to give you some account of the Rohilla war, which was the chief cause of this melancholy event.

THE extensive, fertile, and beautiful provinces called Rohileund, are situated, for the most part, between the two great rivers, Ganges and Jumna, from the boundary

dary of Corah to the confines of Agra and Delhi. They also occupy a large district of country on the north side of the Ganges, reaching eastward to the provinces of Oud, and northward to uninhabited mountains. The annual revenues of these provinces, without oppression, exceeded two crores of rupees (two millions English) and their military establishment of cavalry and infantry was about eighty thousand: a brave and warlike race. The body of the people were composed of Hindoos, of statures, complexions, constitutions, and dispositions, infinitely superior to those of the low countries. But the fate of war subjected them to the absolute dominion of a number of martial Pytan Mahommedans, under the denomination of Chiefs or Rajahs. As these were very numerous, single chiefships were not powerful; but united, as branches sprouting from the same stock, and in a common cause, they were always deemed formidable.

for the most part, between the two great
Ganges and Jumna, from the bound-
ary

THESE

THESE people lived on good terms with the Emperor of Hindostan, to whom they bore a loyal attachment. But the proximity of their southern provinces to the territories of the Marrattas, frequently exposed them to the ravages of that warlike and predatory nation. To the depredations of the Marrattas, the misfortunes of the Rohillas are justly to be ascribed: for these depredations furnished a pretext to the aspiring ambition and restless impetuosity of Sujah-ul-Dowla, the vizier of the empire, and Nabob of Oude, to usurp the dominion of a country, whose wealth, power, and vicinity would serve him as steps by which to mount the imperial throne of Delhi. He artfully insinuated to the Rohilla chiefs, that he was desirous to enter into an alliance with them, and to assist against the Marrattas, as a common enemy; but as they were to reap the chief benefit, it was proper that a subsidy should be paid for the services which his troops were to perform on remote expeditions. Previous to this measure, he had caused

Mahomed

Mahomed Kouli Khan, the Nabob of Iliabad and Corah, to be basely assassinated when at his religious devotion; and then he usurped the dominion of his country. Thus bringing his own close home to those Rohilla provinces, which were fields of plunder and rapine to flying parties of Marrattas.

THE Rohilla chiefs, although they knew and suspected his general character, doubted not his sincerity in a measure which evidently accommodated himself; wherefore, they consented to pay Sujah-ul-Dowla forty lacks of rupees, if he would send a powerful army *immediately* to join their forces, in repelling, and driving the Marratta marauders out of their country. The Marrattas, availing themselves of the Vizier's slow movements, and of that security which the promised succours from the Vizier had created in the Rohilla chiefs, renewed their incursions and depredations with redoubled fury, and with too much success. The Company's troops under
the

the command of Sir Robert Barker, on the part of the Vizier, only entered the Rohilla country for its defence, after all the mischief that could be done had been irretrievably perpetrated. The Rohilla chiefs were, by this means, so reduced in their finances, that besides mildly stating the non-performance of contract by Sujah-ul-Dowla, they were obliged by necessity to desire a respite in the complete payment of the stipulated subsidy, which however they promised to make good by periodical installments, and proposed to submit the whole matter to the arbitration of the presidency of Fort William. As all overtures were refused, they at length yielded to the measure of paying the whole original specific sum, upon conditions suited to the reduced state in which the late Marratta incursions, and the Nabob's own dilatory conduct, had left their country.

THIS was the very object of the Vizier's policy; and his ambition, treachery, and brutality, give room to suspect and believe, that

that he had his Remissaries amongst the Marrattas, to stimulate them to commit the late depredations, upon a promise from him, that his armies, notwithstanding the treaty he had concluded with the Rohilla chiefs, should not obstruct their operations until the year following; imagining, as it happened, that the pleas of necessity and equity, on the part of the Rohillas, would furnish him with pleas for instant hostility and extermination.

MATTERS were in this state of suspense, when Mr. Hastings and his council resolved on a Committee of Circuit to settle the revenues, adjust the administration of the Dewannee, and liquidate other commercial and revenue concerns in the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, and with Sujah-ul-Dowla, about the middle of the year 1773. A rupture, artfully contrived, separated the members of circuit on the day of their departure from Calcutta, and it fell to the preconcerted lot of Mr. Hastings to tune the instrument, and harmonize

monize the discordant faculties of the Vizier Sujah-ul-Dowla. The governor repaired to Benaras, the field of action, charged with discretionary powers in relation to matters of trade, and the adjustment of the subsidy. There were several members of council, Sir Robert Barker the commander in chief of the army, and several senior servants of the Company, either by appointment, or in suite, at that time in Benaras. But secret deeds dislike the light; and, upon the principles of the negociation between the governor and the Vizier, it would have been impolitic and dangerous in the extreme, to have had assistants or witnesses. Sir Robert Barker resented the indignity offered to his military and civil stations in the Company's service, and, as a man of probity, who set a proper value on the faith and honour of his nation, reprobated the treaty as unjust and dishonourable. The presence and names of these gentlemen were only made use of, to witness the execution and interchangeable delivery of the *public* articles

articles of the treaty, upon the 18th September 1773. There were others of a much more intricate nature, not proper to be promulgated, reserved for the influence which the governor's return, and improved condition, to the presidency, could only bring to bear by his presence in council.

By this *public* treaty, the Vizier was to be invested (and immediately to possess, as an estate in perpetuity) with the Emperor's rights to the provinces of Illiabad and Corah, which had been solemnly secured to him by several sacred treaties in 1765, and ratified by the Company openly, and implicitly by the nation: for this bold concession, he was to give the Company forty lacks of rupees, as a consideration for a perpetual revenue of forty-five lacks; and the tribute of twenty-six lacks to the Emperor, from the Nabobship of Bengal, was, by these two contracting parties, declared to have been forfeited from the 28th February 1772, except two sums

which the Vizier and Nudjiff Cawn (a colleague on this occasion) pretended to claim as a private debt from the King to them, both amounting to 92,800 l. sterling.

THE first part of the *secret* treaty which transpired, confusedly, cautiously, and by piece-meal, several months thereafter, contained the barbarous and shocking tragedy, which a British commander in chief, and an army officered by British subjects, and paid by the British East India Company, were made to act, in massacring and exterminating a whole nation, distinguished in Hindostan for many superior qualifications; and putting Sujah-ul-Dowla in the full possession of their country, he paying the Company for the inhuman use of these mercenaries, the paltry pittance (in proportion to the annual revenue, and of the plunder) of fifty lacks of rupees, as a balm to their wounded consciencies, by four annual installments.

It

It is impossible to conceive, that Mr. Hastings could have formed so firm and insuperable an attachment, or personal friendship for a prince whose character was universally obnoxious, a perfect stranger to him, and who had received into his bosom those persons who not long before had inhumanly and perfidiously butchered, in cold blood, his own colleagues, and most intimate friends and companions, the members of the council of Patna, and others. His secret motives or gratifications are subjects of suspicion, but they are beyond the reach of legal proof. Every virtue that can dignify humanity, was sacrificed to the ambition and sanguinary thirst of the most savage of his species*. The governor general engaged

* That Sujah-ul-Dowla should have protected and befriended Cossim Alli Cawn and Sombro, the murderers of Messrs. Hay, Ellis, Chambers, &c. will not be a matter of surprise, after the simple relation of the two following anecdotes, out of a hundred more.—Captain H——r, who was in the Company's service, and also in the Vizier's, had a boat with some merchandize stopped by the reve-

engaged deliberately in an unnatural, unprovoked, cruel war, to destroy an unoffending, industrious people, to whom the same mercenary arms had yielded succour and friendly relief the preceding year, that were turned now against them. He sacrificed the inherent rights of the Emperor to raise the Emperor's own servant and subject, by an act of open rebellion. He violated the solemn treaties upon which all the claims to trade, and the territorial revenue officers, for want of the proper permit. Without suspecting any tragical consequence, he mentioned it to the Vizier. He was awakened at midnight, and the head of the Phouzdar (chief Magistrate) of the district, presented to him in a basket: a circumstance which shocked Captain H—r to that degree, that he scarce recovered his spirits while in India.

Colonel G—d, hunting one day in Rohilcund, some villagers, whose hogs were killed by the dogs, threw a stick at one of the dogs. The colonel came to Sir R. B—r's tent, where the Vizier was at breakfast, and accidentally mentioned this trifling circumstance. The Vizier whispered to one of his attendants, and before the breakfast was over, the attendant returned, and informed the Vizier, that the village was destroyed, and man, woman, and child, put to the sword.

revenues accorded to the Company and British nation, are founded and established. He withdrew the tribute, which constituted the sole legal and political consideration for the Company's pretensions to the Dewannee, and the rights of the British nation, without consulting with his constituents, or his council, and against a ratified treaty; and ceded the Emperor's own provinces of Illiabad and Corah to the Emperor's own minister, a mere temporary officer, removeable at his pleasure. He even, with an assurance and indecency scarcely to be equalled, avows, that the unauthorized treaty of Benaras, and the secret conditions which were known only to the two negociators, and not even committed to paper, were, to all intents and purposes, binding and obligatory on the Company; and in particular, he asserted, that the general tenor of the treaty implied a positive obligation on the Company to secure the Musnud to Sujah-ul-Dowla *and his posterity*; and the undisturbed possession of the Nabobship of

Oude, together with the countries usurped by the sacrilegious murder of Mahomed Kouli Khan, and the treaty of Benaras; although in the same breath he acknowledges, that at the time of making the concessions, he had declared to the Vizier, "That he was acting and consenting to measures against the peremptory orders of his superiors."—All these doings are of so extravagant and preposterous a nature, so much beyond the utmost extension of the Company's power, and so shameful and inglorious to the British nation, that they ought to be considered as the effects of madness, and as wholly null and void in their very nature. Nothing less than the vilest prostitution of trust, and the most consummate impudence, could have produced such a treaty, or dared to avow such a construction of it.

MR. HASTINGS contrived to bring the majority of his council to approve the *public* treaty; and his subsequent equivocations and sophistry in council, concern-
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ing the *secret* conditions stipulated between the Vizier and himself, in relation to the conquest of the Rohilla provinces, demonstrated beyond a doubt, that he thought them of a complexion not proper for public disquisition.—This is pretty evident from his appointment of a resident at the Vizier's court, where none had before been deemed necessary, upon his own special motion, claiming, authoritatively, an independent right to appoint and recall the proposed resident, of his own free will and mere motion; and that such resident shall be considered as his (the governor's) *private agent*, and correspond *only with him*.—Mr. Hastings's minutes and report upon this occasion, are to the following purpose: "That it was my intention to convince the Vizier, that in his concerns with the Company, the immediate dependence was upon the governor alone, and to establish a direct correspondence between him and myself, without any intervention."—Could Mr. Hastings have adopted a surer maxim or language, or

asserted a stronger line of influence, to obtain an Asiatic recompence?—He then proposed, “To appoint a person for transacting such matters of correspondence and communication with the Vizier, as he (the governor) shall think proper to entrust to his management; and he offers it frankly, as his opinion, that if the board shall entrust him with the sole nomination of such a resident, and the power of recalling him whenever he pleases, it may be attended with good effects, but not otherwise.”—What construction can be put on such declarations, recorded on the Company’s own proceedings, but that the result of the visit to Sujah-ul-Dowla, had placed the author beyond the reach and power of his employers?—The confidential instructions to the resident, and the correspondence with him and Colonel Champion, corroborate these surmises in pretty direct terms. By the instructions to Mr. Middleton, the resident, he expressly “forbids any European, whether English or not, civil or military, in or out of the Company’s service,

on any pretext, to visit the Vizier, or the Rajah Cheytsing, but particularly the Vizier ; not even the European officers in the Vizier's own service, except the commander in chief."—As Mr. Hastings obtained for the Rajah Cheytsing, the zemindary of the provinces of Benaras, Ghazipore, &c. *and to his posterity*, for twenty-two and a half lacks of rupees yearly rent, it may be supposed, that the son and heir of the rich Rajah Bulwant-sing, was also very liberal to his friend and benefactor ; and therefore the prohibition to European visitors was a necessary measure of prudent policy. — Mr. Hastings having written a *private* letter to Sujah-ul-Dowla, without any communication, as usual, through the resident, the jealousy or the fears of Mr. Middleton were roused, and he collected resolution enough to complain with some bitterness, of the slight and diffidence which it implied, in a letter to Mr. Hastings, dated the 4th June 1774 ; wherein he says, " That hav-

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ing expressed his uneasiness to the Vizier, he was told by him, that it was only a private complimentary letter."—And Colonel Champion, in a private letter to the governor, before their quarrel, dated 3th May 1774, uses these very suspicious and deep-meaning expressions.

"Dear Sir,

"In consequence of what passed between us at parting, I have mentioned Colonel Upton's claim to the Nabob, and requested he would be kind enough to discharge it. His Excellency was very concise in his reply, that he had settled all money matters with Mr. Hastings."

WHAT can be inferred from this, but that Mr. Hastings had undertook to shut up all private claims and applications? And the reiterated strenuous endeavours of Mr. Hastings, by uncommon application, and indirect insinuations, to prevail on Colonel Champion to dismiss from his
future subsistence, and more money for
immediate

his service as banyan, the very faithful and intelligent Collychurn, while upon the expedition in question, betrays a dread of his discovering, in the course of business, and negociations with the army, and at Lucknow, the secret springs which led to the treaty of Benaras.

A MR. HALL, whose address and management had procured him a general intercourse with the natives of condition in and about the Vizier's court and metropolis, having come down to Calcutta, somewhat involved in difficulties, and finding no method of being extricated, bethought him of communicating the outlines of certain pieces of private knowledge to a confidential friend of Mr. H——s; declaring, that in his present distress, if he was not relieved, he must be under the necessity of laying his mind open to General Clavering. It had the intended effect; his debts were forthwith paid. But Mr. Hall *wisely* said, that he must have future subsistence, and more money for
immediate

immediate use;—he received an order on Cossimbazar for present supply, and an appointment at Futtygur, upon express condition of going instantly, and remaining there to execute it in person.

COLONEL CHAMPION was appointed to the command of the Company's troops, on an expedition, near fifteen hundred miles by water conveyance up the country, against the Rohilla's, with peremptory orders to be directed in all his motions and actions by the Vizier Sujah-ul-Dowla, whose commands he was implicitly to obey on all occasions. The Colonel put himself accordingly at the head of the army, and took the field, under the absolute command of a prince, whose object was savage barbarism and inhumanity, and who wanted manly courage to hazard, either his own person, his army, or even his artillery, in an action, to secure the success of what he was so solicitously ambitious to obtain.—The fatal battle was fought upon the 23d day of April 1774, which

which iniquitously decided the melancholy fate of the brave, industrious, populous, and inoffensive Rohilla nation. In the mean time, Sujah-ul-Dowla withdrew with his army, artillery, and baggage, to a distance of several miles from the field of action: Nay, he positively refused to the application of Colonel Champion, a part of his cavalry in order to attack the enemy at a certain quarter, to which the numbers of the Company's troops could not extend without imminent danger to the whole; and he also pointedly refused to spare a few pieces of his artillery, to serve in another very necessary quarter. These refusals created uneasy suspicions in Colonel Champion's mind, of foul treachery on the part of the Vizier, in case the success of the day should favour the Rohillas, which might place the vanquished army between a victorious enemy and a treacherous friend. Such an idea might not be wanted to animate the British General, but it might have pushed him to a determined resolution

resolution to conquer or fall.—The Company's brave general and their troops, unassisted, gained a decisive, but in truth, a disgraceful victory. Their artillery was so judiciously stationed and pointed, that, to the immortal honour of the brave Rohillas, it was asserted, they left four thousand men lying dead upon the field, before they retreated.

THE surviving chiefs surrendered at discretion to the victorious army, and were delivered into the hands of Sujah-ul-Dowla ; except Fyzulla Cawn, who, yielding up his camp and towns as plunder to the Vizier, fled to the mountainous part of his country, by which means he was able to stipulate certain conditions, though these were hard and inhuman.—The other chiefs were forced, together with their families, to submit to the most disgraceful imprisonment, and the most mortifying and humiliating treatment ; their zenanas, which are sacred sanctuaries in India, even against the violences

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and outrages of savages, were plundered, and the wives, daughters, and sisters of princes, were violated and abused. Children under puberty were sacrificed to the lust of an old distempered debauchee. Some shocking circumstances have been alledged.—The plunder received into the possession of the Vizier, has been estimated at a crore and a half of rupees, or one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling; and yet to this hour, twenty lacks sixty thousand six hundred and eight rupees, part of the subsidy due for this conquest, are yet owing to the Company, besides ten lacks promised as a donation to the army, in lieu of the plunder, which he had treasured to his own use.

—It is computed, that about five hundred thousand industrious husbandmen and artists, who were also, for the most part, able warriors, together with their families, were deliberately driven over the Jumna, to receive an asylum from their late enemies and plunderers, the Marhattas.

rattas. — Fyzulla Cawn was obliged to condition, that he should not entertain more than five thousand persons in his dominion. — The latter end of 1777, under the vague pretence that Fyzulla's country was flourishing, and becoming more populous than was stipulated by treaty, Mr. Middleton, as the Company's resident at Lucknow, in concert with his friends and protectors at the presidency, without any notification to the supreme board, or asking their consent, undertook to delegate Mr. Daniel Barwell, as an ambassador to the quiet, timid, Fyzulla Cawn; who, wrapt up in a garment of innocence, suspected nothing less than a charge of violating the compact, or the presence of an European ambassador to adjust the imaginary violation. It is said, that although the allegation appeared to have been without foundation, the minister found the means of procuring, by way of escort back to Lucknow, several elephants and camels, loaded with eight to ten lacks of rupees in specie. The minute of Mr. Francis,

Francis, upon the occasion of the governor general's motion to approve the proceedings, as expedient, on the 9th March 1778, is worthy of the space it occupies upon record.

HE (Mr. Francis) calls it, “ One of
 “ the grossest pieces of management he
 “ met with in India. Mr. Daniel Bar-
 “ well quits his station at Benaras with-
 “ out leave, and goes to Lucknow with-
 “ out leave ; Mr. Middleton instantly
 “ discovers, that Fyzulla Cawn is carry-
 “ ing on some design prejudicial to the
 “ interest of the Nabob, and that the
 “ Nabob gives cause for such designs, by
 “ his treatment of his subjects ; at the
 “ same time, that nothing is more noto-
 “ rious, than that the Nabob has no more
 “ power in his own country, than he
 “ (Mr. Francis) has. To put a stop to
 “ these effects, which mutual jealousies
 “ must produce, a treaty must be made ;
 “ the guarantee of the Company must be
 “ given ; and Mr. Daniel Barwell finds
 VOL. II. S “ himself

“ himself very opportunely, at Lucknow,
“ ready to execute the commission.”

THE Rohilla provinces are now a barren waste, and almost totally deserted by the inhabitants. The chiefs and their children are continued in the most miserable state of confinement, deprived of the common necessaries of life.

LETTER LVIII.

To J—M—, Esq. London.

Calcutta, Jan. 2, 1780.

ON how precarious a foundation does the British empire in India stand, when one daring individual can, at his pleasure, subvert every principle of the Company's government, violate their most positive orders and solemn instructions, contemn their authority, and set their power at defiance! The principles on which the Rohilla war originated, the Court of Directors unanimously condemned; yet, regardless of their most peremptory commands, Mr. H—s plunged them into another, the consequences of which threaten the subversion of the whole British power, together with the property and possessions of the English East India

Company in Hindostan. Perhaps it is too late for that Company to weigh the disgraceful and dangerous consequences of uniting constant condemnation with constant impunity; and of continuing men in stations of the highest trust and dignity, whom, if we may rely on the opinion they have repeatedly expressed of their conduct and character, they ought to think unworthy of the lowest.

THE territories of the Marrattas, if we except that which was lately usurped by Hyder Ally Cawn, extend towards the sea from Travancore, near Cape Comorin, at the southern extremity of the peninsula of Hindostan, to the river Paddar, which discharges itself in the gulgh of Scindy, and which divides Guzzarat from the dominions of Persia. On the east, they are bounded by the Carnatic, the Company's northern Circars, and the dominions of the Nizam-ul-Muluck, the Soubah of the Deccan-Bazalet-Jung: but the province of Catac stretches

stretches in a winding course to the bay of Bengal.

THE Marratta states in the Deccan are the only people of Hindostan who were never effectually subdued, and who never unanimously acknowledged themselves vassals to the throne of Delhi. The great Aurengzebe himself, unable to conquer the brave Marrattas, found it prudent, for the sake of peace, to yield to them the sovereignty of the Deccan. They even carried the terror of their arms into the heart of Delhi, whence they carried off vast treasures; and they continued their depredations, first in the country around that seat of empire, and then in the kingdoms of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá; until, in consideration of the cession of Catac, and an annual tribute of twelve lacks of rupees, they concluded a treaty of peace with Alverdi Cawn, who had usurped the soubaship of Bengal, in 1750.

THEIR natural fastnesses and inaccessible mountains, which conspired with their native bravery to preserve the Marhattas from the Mogul yoke, account for their predatory habits, their neglect of agriculture, and invincible love of arms. Among this race of warriors, and among them only, that generous hospitality both towards strangers and each other, which in former times so eminently characterized the manners of the East, is still observed with sacred and even superstitious exactness.

THE Marrattas, like the other nations of Hindostan, were originally governed by princes, distinguished by the title of *Sou*, or Ram-rajah *, whose throne was established at Setterrah. United under this

* There were among the Hindoos other titles of sovereignty; as, Ranah, Rajah, &c. Subordinate characters were known by the names of Paishwa, Surdar, Zemindar, Polygar, &c.—The titles of Vizier, Soubah, Nizam, Nabob, Omrah, &c. were introduced by Mahomedans.

head, they were always powerful and invincible; but in process of time, each subordinate chief assuming the prerogatives of an independent prince, and one link of that chain which united them, being broken, they were separated into a number of petty states; yet they still continued to yield a kind of tacit allegiance to the Ram-rajah, who had a power of assembling the chiefs, and ordering out their troops as often as any public cause required their service.

THE Marratta revenues were originally very great. Before the usurpations of Hyder Ally Cawn, in the kingdom of Myfore and around it, they amounted to about seventeen millions of British pounds. It is computed, that their annual revenue is equal still to twelve millions.

THEIR military establishment, which is composed of cavalry, is yet about three hundred thousand: but these are not to be considered as regulars, or permanent

troops, but as an established militia. In judging of the Marratta force, we are also to observe, that it is an invariable custom among the troops, when an expedition is concluded, to retire with what plunder they may have seized to their respective abodes, leaving with the chiefs only what may be called their body-guards.

THE Sou, or Ram-rajah, exists now but in name. Nana-row, brother of the present Roganaut-row, commonly called Ragoba, seized at the same instant the reins of government and the person of the Ram-rajah: a revolution which was favoured by the Bramin cast of the usurper. The government he administered, under the title of Paishwa, or prime minister, and the prince he confined in a fortress near the metropolis *Setterab*. In this position, the present young Ram-rajah and the government of the Marratta state continue to this day.

NANA-row dying, left behind him two sons, Mada-row and Narain-row; the first of whom, being the eldest, succeeded him in the usurped office of Paishwa. Ionogee-Boofla, or Bouncello, the father or immediate predecessor of Moodage-Boofla, Rajah of Berar, was one of the pretenders to the throne of Setterah, as nearest of kin to the confined Ram-rajah; at the same time Roganaut-row was a pretender to the office of prime minister, even during the life-time of his nephew, for which Mada-row kept him under confinement.

BUT the Paishwa feeling in himself the symptoms of decay, and foreseeing his approaching dissolution, was moved with fraternal tenderness towards Narain-row, his young brother and lineal successor; whose youth and inexperience exposed him to the machinations of his crafty and intriguing uncle, though in prison.

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HAD Mada-row, on this occasion, observed the cruel policy of the east, he might by a hint or a nod have removed the cause of all his fears concerning his brother; but he was a man of a humane disposition, and his mind was purged from all dark ideas of poison or assassination by the near approach of death. Divided between humanity towards his uncle, and affection for his brother, he embraced the generous resolution of effecting a reconciliation between the objects of his tenderness and his compassion. He caused Roganaut-row to be released; and, having made such arrangements as he thought the most likely to remove all uneasiness or dissatisfaction from the minds of both parties, he placed the hands of the youth into those of his uncle, and, shedding tears of joy, tenderly embraced them: “I intrust,” said he, “the young man to your care: I recommend him to your protection. Give him your advice in the administration of government; guard him from the snares and plots of his enemies.

He never advised your confinement : he was always an advocate for your enlargement : let all remembrance of former grievances on either side, die with me."

The young man, it is said, and even Roganaut-row, on this occasion, dissolved in tears. But how fallacious are all momentary impressions on the heart, when the mind is not fortified by any principle of virtue ! Ragoba promised to consider Narain-row as his own child ; but this promise he kept no longer than he could procure assassins to cut him in pieces.

MADA-ROW died in November 1772 ; and Narain-row was allowed to live until the September following, when he was in the twenty-third year of his age. But concerning the cause and circumstances of this young man's death, you will not be displeased if I am somewhat more particular.

GOPINCABOW, the mother of Madah and Narain-row, had disgusted her eldest son

son by a dissolute and vicious life; in consequence of which, she withdrew to Benaras, in the dominion of Oude, then hostile to the Marratta government, and at a vast distance from Poonah. Just before his death, Madah-row expressed a desire to see her, which she refused with contempt; therefore, dreading her influence over the unformed mind of his brother Narain-row, he earnestly cautioned him to beware of her artful councils. Some circumstances having appeared in the conduct of Roganaut-row, creating suspicions of a foul design upon his nephew, the rumour thereof reached Benaras, whence Gopinca-bow wrote to her son, cautioning him against the arts of his uncle, and even recommending to confine him again, as his brother Madah-row had found it necessary to do for his own security. This letter in its way fell into the hands of Roganaut-row's adopted son, then under the care of Moodajee Boosla, in Berar, which he conveyed to his father in Poonah. Roganaut-row instantly determined to secure his

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own freedom, and the Paishwaship without a competitor, by one blow; as neither of the brothers had children, nor was it then known that the wife of Narain-row was pregnant. Two Soubadars of the Durbar guard he made choice of for the accomplishment of his purpose. Simmer-sing and Mahomet Issouff were consulted; who, after some consideration, engaged, for two lacks of rupees, and two strong forts for their future protection, to perform the horrid deed. An occasion offered to attach a third to their plot. Tulajee, a favourite servant, had been raised by Narain-row to the command of a troop of horse near his own person. That young man having committed an act of violence on a Soubadar of rank and condition, upon complaint thereof, Narain found it necessary to degrade and confine the favourite: however, upon application, he was not only released, but restored to rank and favour; but the disgrace sunk into his spirit, and he secretly menaced revenge. The conspirators asso-

ciated

ciated him in their design, and fixed the day, place, and manner of carrying it into execution. On the 18th of August 1773, after the Paishwa had withdrawn to his retirement as usual in the evening, he was alarmed by an uproar and information that a body of armed men were forcing into the apartments. He instantly suspected that his uncle meditated his death ; and he flew into the apartment and arms of Roganaut-row, imploring him to take the government and spare his life. Rago-ba was melted for a moment, and he spoke to the Soubadars : but the matter had gone too far to be receded from with security. Tulajee seized Narain-row's legs, and a sepoy disengaged his arms which embraced his uncle. Tulajee struck the first blow, which was followed by Simmer-sing and Mahomet Issouff.

LETTER LIX.

To J— M—, Esq. London.

Calcutta, Jan. 5, 1780,

THE death of Narain-row was generally lamented, and the unnatural manner in which it was brought about, universally execrated by all the people. A powerful opposition was formed, to the succession of Ragoba to the office after which he aspired. The parricide was forced to flee from his country, indignant at his crimes: but he found protection in the island of Bombay, in consideration of a promise of the most flattering concessions, which however he had as little the power as the right to perform. The asylum thus granted to Roganaut-row, incensed the Marrattas on the one hand; while, on the other, it amused the English with a prospect,

prospect, not only of valuable territorial concessions, but of the usual spoils which Indian revolutions present to the views of successful European allies.

HOSTILITIES having quickly commenced, the marine of Bombay sustained, with the bravery of British seamen, the troops, in the reduction of the island of Salsette, which was effected not without considerable loss to the assailants; while that of Baroach cost the life of General Wedderburn, one of the best and bravest officers that belonged either to the Company's service or the British army. The Company felt his loss soon thereafter, in the defeat of the Bombay army under Colonel Keating. Happily, however, by means of the established enmity between the Marrattas and Hyder-Ally Cawn; of jealousies and secret enmities between the principal and lesser states; and of divisions in the council of Poonah, the Marratta government was inclined to preserve the friendship of the Company in preference
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to all other connections : a disposition in which they would have continued, if the English had not afforded support to the unjust pretensions of a parricide.

SUCH was the situation of the Company with regard to the Marratta state, when the new government, composed of Mr. Hastings, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Francis, commenced in October 1774. The newly-arrived members, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, entered on the duty assigned to them by the Company, and by their country, with alacrity: the sole object of their views being, to recover the affairs of their employers from confusion, debt, and discredit. These gentlemen, forming a majority in the supreme council, availed themselves of that superiority which the act of parliament gave them, in certain cases, over the other presidencies, and sent Colonel Upton to negotiate with the Marratta court an honourable peace: which was at length

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concluded

concluded and ratified, on the first of March 1776. This peace is known by the title of the Poorunder Treaty, and sometimes by that of the Treaty of Poonah.

By this treaty, Salfette, Baroach, and other districts in the Guzzerat provinces, were ceded to the Company: they were to be paid twelve lacks of rupees at three fixed terms, to defray the charges of the war; as a security for which they got possession of several pergunnahs in mortgage; and an extent of territory of the annual value of three lacks, adjoining or near to Baroach.

On the other hand, it was stipulated, that Roganaut-row should be provided for according to his rank, in a private line, and withdraw immediately from Bombay; and that no protection or assistance should be given to him, or any other subject or servant of the Marratta state who might excite any disturbance or rebellion in that country.

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THIS treaty was confirmed by the Court of Directors; who ordered a strict adherence to it in the strongest terms. They recommended special vigilance over the conduct of Ragoba, during the time he should remain at Bombay, that he might form no plans against what is called the ministerial party at Poonah: and positively commanded, that no intervention or scheme in his favour should be entered into, without the previous consent of the supreme council or Court of Directors. At the same time they admitted, that common humanity warranted the protection of Ragoba's person from violence.

IN the mean time Roganaut-row, under the protection of the government of Bombay, entered into new intrigues, and fomented dissensions in the administration of Poonah*.

UNFORTUNATELY for the happiness of mankind, the will almost perpetually in-

* The seat of the Marratta government.

fluences the judgment, and we too easily believe what we wish to be true. The history of all nations proves, that exiled pretenders to sovereignty are convinced, on the slightest grounds, that the body of the people is devoted to their interest, and ready in their cause to take up arms. In the year 1715, the Pretender, with his adherents who attended him in France, were persuaded, that nineteen persons in Britain out of twenty, were what they called loyal subjects. The same language was held in the years preceding the famous 1745 : and it is impossible to convince the British government, that the loyalists are not by far the greatest party in North America. A similar deception was the immediate cause of the Marratta war. *Ragoba*, deceived in all probability himself, by means of his partizans among the Marratta chiefs, beguiled the easy credulity of Mr. Mostyn resident from Bombay at the court of Poonah, into a belief, that a most powerful party was formed in favour of Roganaut-row, who were ready to advance

advance him by force of arms to the supreme administration of government. This piece of intelligence was received with avidity, and credited without any hesitation by majorities in the presidencies both of Bombay and Calcutta. Having determined to reinstate Ragoba on the Poonah throne, they fortify their resolution with new arguments. The Marrattas, they asserted, had given countenance to agents from Austria and France. If report could be believed, formal engagements had passed between them and M. St. Lubin, as agent to the crown of France, the object of which, whatever it was, must, if attained, prove destructive to the trade of the English Company, and to the British influence in India. Accordingly it was necessary, by a sudden and decisive blow, and particularly by seizing the Island of Basseen, to curb and reduce the Marratta power, before it should be increased by the accession of that of France. They flattered themselves with the greater assurance of success in favour of Ragoba, as they ex-

pected assistance from Hyder Ally Cawn, who professed a friendship for his party. Thus the object of this projected war, was, to place at the head of the Marratta government, a man whose hands were dyed with the blood of his own kindred; whose treachery had rendered him an object of execration over all Asia; and who was withal the avowed friend and partizan of Hyder Ally Cawn, an aspiring usurper, whose enmity to the English and their allies, was as firmly rooted as his hatred of the Marrattas.

THE circumstances then that incited or encouraged the governor general of Bengal to commence a war with the Marrattas, were chiefly three. There was, as he conceived, a powerful party at the court of Poonah, determined to hazard their lives in support of Ragoba; a majority of the Marratta chiefs had entered, or were on the point of entering, into a treaty of alliance with France; and Hyder Ally Cawn would not fail to join the English

English in support of his friend Ragoba, against his inveterate enemies.—How unfortunate was the governor, both in his secret intelligence and his conjectures! In all these points he was deceived. While Mr. Hastings was haranguing at Calcutta, on the power and zeal of the partizans of Ragoba, the few adherents he had were pining in confinement at Poonah. There was not a man in the civil or military administration of the Marratta government, either in thought or in action, ready to espouse the cause of Roganaut-row. On the contrary, the whole body of the people in every station, seemed unanimous in their resolution to oppose him, and the plan he had adopted. The Marratta government shewed at first every possible disposition to preserve the friendship, and to maintain an alliance with the English: and if they entered into any negotiations with the French at last, we may easily trace them to their proper source in the protection that was afforded to Roganaut-row, in violation of a solemn treaty, and

his intrigues at Bombay. The Marrattas, unwilling to irritate the English, entered into no treaty whatever with the French; but on the contrary, dismissed M. St. Lubin from Poonah, where he had had partizans. This agent of France went therefore to Hyder Ally, who had, before this repulse of St. Lubin at Poonah, resented the offers he had made to the Marrattas. The rejection of these offers by the Marratta government, facilitated a treaty between St. Lubin and Hyder, and procured for the French the cession of Mangalore.

THE pacific disposition of the Marratta court, and their refusal to treat effectually with St. Lubin, will appear from the following passage, in a letter from the governor general's friend, the Rajah of Berar: "I formerly intimated in my letters to Calcutta, the purport of what the Poonah ministers wrote to me; that they neither had nor would have, any friendship or connection with the French nation; and that the French agent came to Poonah,

solely

solely for the purposes of trade; and that out of friendship to the English, they had sent him away; that I should therefore write to the Nabob Amand-ul-Dowla (meaning the governor general) to be perfectly satisfied with respect to them, they being steady to their engagements."

SUCH being the state of affairs at Poonah and Mangalore, the simple exercise of justice and fidelity to engagements, would have detached the Marratta chiefs more and more from France and from Hyder Ally, and united them in a close connection and friendship with the English. But a breach of public faith, and an insatiable thirst for power and unbounded dominion, so apparent in every measure of the Company's servants, united the discordant Marratta states, and jarring members in the administration of Poonah, Hyder Ally Cawn, the Soubah of the Decan, the Rajah of Berar, Nudjiff-Cawn, and all the lesser powers of India into a close association for the purpose of resisting the extravagant pretensions

pretensions and views of the Company's administration in Asia, and even reducing their power. Impelled by the same motives, they discovered inclinations to hearken to the overtures of France, looking with wishful impatience for the day of deliverance from the iron hand of oppression.

On the 22d November 1778, an army amounting to 3000 men, officers included, moved from Bombay, with an immense quantity of baggage, and a train of nineteen thousand cattle, to place Roosa-tow at the head of the administration of Poona. The conduct of this expedition was entrusted to a committee consisting of Colonel Egerton, Mr. Carnac, and Mr. Mossyn. Thus the commander in chief was circumscribed in his designs and operations by the appointment of field deputies: a measure, the bad effects of which have been constantly shown by experience. Debate and execution are in their nature incompatible. The success of the expedition of setting the military pretensions

LETTER

LETTER LX.

To J— M—, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Jan. 10, 1780.

ON the 22d November 1778, an army, amounting to 3910 men, officers included, moved from Bombay, with an immoderate quantity of baggage, and a train of nineteen thousand cattle, to place Roganaut-row at the head of the administration of Poonah. The conduct of this expedition was entrusted to a committee, consisting of Colonel Egerton, Mr. Carnac, and Mr. Mostyn. Thus the commander in chief was circumscribed in his designs and operations by the appointment of field deputies: a measure, the bad effects of which have been constantly shewn by experience. Debate and execution are in their nature incompatible. The success of
military

military operations depends very much upon unity of command, without which there can neither be decision nor timely execution. This maxim of war was not contradicted by any success attending the present expedition. The army had not got within two days march of Poonah, after having been about fifty days in their progress without any hostile obstruction, before they were totally defeated, and reduced, by the necessity of offering a *carte blanche* to the enemy, to the most disgraceful humiliation. After a few days skirmishing, they capitulated at Wargaum, on the 16th of January 1779. This mortifying intelligence was received at Calcutta in the month of February, in a literal translation of a letter to the Nabob of Arcot, from his Vakeel at the court of Poonah. Of this letter I send you a copy. It will exhibit a new instance of the perfidy of Roganaut-row; the folly of placing confidence in a treacherous character, and of allowing Ragoba to move with a separate camp; and the generosity,

generosity, moderation, and good sense of the Marrattas,

Intelligence from Poonah, contained in a Letter from Row Gee, dated 18th of January 1779, to the Nabob of Arcot.

1. I have addressed to your Highness several letters of late, some of which I hope are arrived: I have accounts of others having been intercepted on the road, and shall therefore recapitulate some of the most important transactions here.

2. THE English Surdars*, as I have already wrote to your Highness, marched from Bombay to the passes, and fortified that of Kodtichully. Roganaut-row took possession of two forts which were in the road, and joined the English army, which I hear consisted of 700 Europeans, 8 battalions of Sepoys, 40 pieces of cannon, mortars, and a quantity of powder and

* Or Chiefs.

military stores; they had besides four lacks of rupees in money.

3. Siccaram Pundit, and Nana Furnese, two Marratta Surdars, joined their forces, and satisfied the discontented chiefs Schindiah and Holkar, by giving them money, jaghires, and other presents.

4. All the chiefs having met to consult what was to be done in the present state of affairs, they all with one voice agreed, that if Roganaut-row came with his own forces alone, they should receive him, and give him a share of the power as formerly; but since he came with an army of English, who were of a different nation from them, and whose conduct in Sujah Dowla's country, the Rohilla country, Bengal, and the Carnatic, they were well acquainted with, they unanimously determined not to receive Roganaut-row; as otherwise, in the end, they would be obliged to forsake their religion, and become the slaves of Europeans. Upon this
they

they exchanged oaths; and Nehum Row, Apagee Pundit, and Scindiah, were sent with an army of 15,000 horse, besides foot, to the Gaut of Tulicanoon, and were followed immediately after by Siccaram Pundit and Nana Furneze, with 40,000 horse.

5. It has been for some time the fixed determination of the English Surdars to give their assistance to Roganaut-row, in replacing him at the head of the government; an army was sent from Calcutta, who made an alliance with Boosla, (Rajah of Berar) and they were greatly encouraged by the news of the surrender of Pondicherry.

6. MR. MOSTYN, who went from Poonah, made them believe, that many of the Marratta Surdars were in their interest, and that as soon as their army should arrive at the Gaut, Holkar would join them with all his forces.

7. THE

7. THE English, trusting to this, marched their army to the Gaut, and waited impatiently for a whole month, but no one appeared to join their standard. The English army marched forward from the Gaut, and were so much harrassed by the Marrattas, as not to be able to proceed more than two cofs* a day, during which time they lost a great many of their men by the fire kept upon them by the Marrattas. When they came to Chockly, which is about fourteen cofs from the pass, they were obliged to halt; Captain Stewart, one of their Surdars, was killed at this place.

ON the 21st January, the European army arrived at Tulicanoon (seventeen cofs from the pass;) Mr. Carnac, second of Bombay, was with them. Siccaram sent a body of horse to Tulicanoon, to harrass them; twenty-five Europeans, amongst whom was an officer, and one hundred sepoy, were killed on the first day; the Marrattas had two hundred men killed.

* A cof is five English miles.

9. ON the 2d day, the English were surrounded on all sides by the Marrattas, and all supplies of provisions cut off from them. Seeing themselves in this situation, they determined, if possible, to return back by the Gaut, and consulted upon the means to effect it. Roganaut-row hearing this, sent privately to the Marratta chief, Schindiah, telling him, that if he would attack the English, he would join him with his two battalions of Sepoys, and 600 horse. The English, it would appear, had intelligence of this; for, on the 13th of January, they suddenly marched secretly from Tulicanoon, taking Roganaut-row with them, and leaving their baggage and tents standing, under the protection of 200 Europeans, and one battalion of Sepoys, with eight pieces of cannon, to make the Marrattas believe that their whole force was at Tulicanoon. — Siccaram, however, got private intelligence of their retreat; and, with Nana Furneze, Schindiah, and Holkar, went to cut off their march. At the same

time he sent a body of horse to Tulicannoon, where the rest of the English were encamped. The Marrattas, as usual, fell upon the plunder, and a smart engagement ensued between them and the English. The detachment, who had marched with Roganaut-row, but had not proceeded far, returned to the assistance of those in their camp. A heavy cannonade was kept up by the Marrattas from midnight till four o'clock the next day; the English were not able to march one foot of way, and all their firing took no effect; one hundred and fifty Europeans, with many of their officers, and eight hundred Sepoys, were killed. The Marrattas surrounded them, and kept patrols going all night, to prevent any from escaping. On the 14th, the Marrattas commenced their cannonading again, fifty Europeans and four hundred Sepoys were killed. The English ceased firing, seeing that it had no effect. In the evening of that day, the servant of Roganaut-row, and that of Mr. Carnac, brought a letter to Madah Row,

Row, acquainting him, that they would send a trusty person to confer with him upon some matters, if leave was given. The Surdars read the letter, and sent an answer by the same person, that they were willing to cease hostilities, until a person was sent. They, however, took care to keep a strict patrol round the English camp all night. On the 15th, the Maratta Surdars went to the trenches, and began firing again; but it was not answered from the English camp. Soon after, Mr. Farmer (a gentleman who was some time ago at your Highness's court) came from the English camp, and the fire of the Marrattas immediately ceased. The Marrattas sent for him into the presence, and Mr. Farmer said to them, "We are only merchants.—When disputes prevailed with you, Roganaut-row came to us, and demanded our protection. We thought he had a right to the government, and gave him our assistance. Nothing but ill fortune attends him, and we have been

U 2 brought

brought to this miserable state, by keeping him with us. You are masters to keep him from us. We shall henceforth adhere to the treaties that have formerly taken place between us. Be pleased to forgive what has happened."

THE minister answered, "Roganautrow is one of us. What right could you have to interfere in our concerns with him? We now desire you to give up Salsette and Bassin, and what other countries you have possessed yourselves of; as also the Circars, those of the Purgunnahs of Baroch, &c. which you have taken in Guzzarat. Adhere to the treaty made in the time of Bajalee Row, and ask nothing else."—Mr. Farmer heard this answer, and returned to his camp. While this negociation was carrying on, 15,000 Marratta horse were sent against some out-posts where the English had entrenched themselves, and set fire to them, putting every one they met with to death. They did the same at the fort of

of Choul, where the English had fortified. I heard all this from Nana Furneze; whether it be true or false, I am not certain.

On the 6th at noon, Mr. Farmer returned, and told Schindiah that he had brought a blank paper, signed and sealed, which the Marratta chiefs might fill up as they pleased. Schindiah told the ministers, that although they had it in their power to make any demands they pleased, it would not be adviseable to do it at this time. “For our making large demands, would only sow resentment in their hearts, and we had better demand only what is necessary. Let Roganaut-row be with us, and the treaty between us and the English will be adhered to. Let Salfette and the Purgunnah in Guzzarats, &c. be given back to us. Let the Bengal army return back. For the rest, let us act with them, as it is stipulated in the treaty with Bajalee Row; let the jewels mortgaged by Ro-

ganaut-row be restored, and nothing demanded for them. Let all these articles be wrote out on the paper which they have sent." Which was accordingly done. "It is likewise conditioned, that till this treaty is returned, signed and sealed by the governor of the Council and Select Committee, under the Company's seal, and till Salfette and the other countries be given up, the nephew of Captain Stewart and Mr. Farmer shall remain in the Marratta camp as hostages for the due performance of the articles of this treaty."

THE English soldiers who have escaped with their lives, fasted for three days, and are now in a miserable condition. The Europeans and Sepoys have all grounded their arms.—On the 17th the treaty was sent to the Marratta camp. The articles were written in Persian, Marratta, and English, sealed with the Company's seal, and signed by Mr. Carnac and seven officers. After this the Marratta Surdars sent them

them victuals, which they needed much. The English marched out, *escorted by 2000 Marratta horse*; but Roganaut-row, not finding a lucky hour, did not go to the Marratta camp, but will go after twelve o'clock to-morrow."

The English soldiers who have escaped with their lives, staid for three days, and are now in a miserable condition. The Europeans and Sepoys have all grounded their arms.—On the 17th the treaty was sent to the Marratta camp. The articles were written in Persian, Marratta, and English, sealed with the Company's seal, and signed by Mr. Carnac and seven officers. After this the Marratta Sardars sent them

LETTER LXI.

To J— M—, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Jan. 14, 1780.

IN my last I laid before you striking proofs of the moderation and good sense of the Marratta regency, on an occasion the most tempting that could be imagined to revenge and ambition. I wish now to impress the ideas that those proofs have made on your mind, by two letters from Siccaram Pundit, minister of the Marratta sovereignty, to Mr. Hastings, in his capacity of governor general.—There are many who write letters to extenuate the crimes and display the virtues of the Company's leading servants: let me do justice to those whom they have chosen to make their enemies.

Copy

*Copy of a letter from SICCARAM PUNDIT,
Prime-minister of the Poonah Government,
to Governor General HASTINGS. — Re-
ceived in Bengal the 7th of December 1778.*

“ AT the time when some of the Com-
pany's chiefs were engaged in disputes
and hostilities with the chiefs of this
government, actuated by a wish to pro-
mote the good and happiness of mankind
in general, which suffered by those trou-
bles, you interposed your friendly media-
tion to remove the causes of complaint,
and to put a stop to them; and deputed
Colonel Upton for this purpose, to the pre-
sence of my master Scriminust Row, Row
Pundit Pinkham, Pishaw Saib.

AT the time of the ratification of peace,
I objected to there being no person of
rank and credit present on the part of the
governor of Bombay; to which the Colo-
nel made answer, “ That the governor and
supreme council of Calcutta were invested
with

with authority over all settlements of the English Company, and that their acts were binding on the chiefs of all the English settlements." On the faith of this declaration, I made peace between this government and the Company's chiefs, and concluded a treaty; but the governor of Bombay has, in every instance of his conduct since, excited troubles and commotions, in violation of the ties of friendship; and notwithstanding your express orders to expel Roganaut-row from the Company's dominions, and to settle all points between the two states, in conformity to the treaty, he has performed nothing thereof. And an envoy from the king of France arriving here with a letter, interested persons, and inventors of falsehoods, conceiving this a lucky opportunity to obtain credit to their lying reports, without examination or reflection, represented it in the manner best calculated to answer their malicious purposes.

"I call

“ I CALL God to witness, that out of regard to the friendship and alliance of the Company and the English chiefs, I dismissed the said envoy, without negotiating, or even conversing with him.—I have lately heard, that some of your people have hostilely possessed themselves of the fort of Calpee, which belongs to this government. This measure is widely removed from the faith of the solemn treaty executed by the English.

“ WHEN the governor of Bombay, in former times, put on the mask of friendship for the purposes of deceit, and aided the enemies of this government; regarding you, Sir, as superior to all other chiefs, I made peace and friendship with you; and these are the fruits produced by this friendship.

“ You write, that the maintaining of friendship and strict union between our respective states, is your resolve. Is it in effect for the preservation of friendship
that

that you trouble the dominions of this government? Such a mode of conduct is inconsistent with the maxims and measures of high and illustrious chiefs.—It is mutually incumbent on us to preserve inviolate the terms of the treaty. Should any deviation arise therein, they are effects of the will and dispensation of God.”

*From the Same.——Received in Calcutta
the 12th December 1778.*

“I HAVE been favoured with your letter under date the 22d Tremadee Affamee (17th July) on the subject of the preservation and increase of the friendship between the two states; and intimating that it is your first resolve to maintain every article of the treaty, so long as it is adhered to by the Paishwa; that the troops have been sent solely for the reinforcement of the settlement of Bombay; and that the commanding officer had strict injunctions to observe such a conduct in every respect, as is consistent with the friendship subsisting;

ing; that the several letters you have lately received from this quarter, meaning from me, contain a declaration to maintain the treaty of friendship between us; yet that my having hitherto evaded to grant passes for the march of the troops through the government dominions, causes you great astonishment. That if I still refuse to comply therewith, you are remediless, and the blame will fall on me. This letter, containing the above, and other particulars, which I shall notice before I conclude, reached me on the 4th of Shabann (28th August) and afforded me great pleasure.

“It is universally allowed, that there is nothing in the world more excellent than friendship and harmony, which are blessings to mankind in general. The maintenance of every article of the treaty, is equally incumbent on both parties.— It is not stipulated in any article of the treaty, that either party may send forces through dominions of the other, without consulting

consulting him beforehand, and cause trouble and distress to the people.—To what rule of friendship can be attributed the stationing of garrisons in the forts, and making collections in the country of the other party.—*What has happened, is then agreeable to English faith.* In proof of this assertion, be it observed, that Colonel Leslie, the commanding officer of the detachment, has kept with him Roganautrow's Vakeel, and, in conjunction with him, collects money from the dominions of the government, by intimidating its subjects.—This being the case, what becomes of your assurances before recited, that the treaty should be scrupulously adhered to on your parts, so long as it was maintained by my master? or what degree of credit can be given thereto?

“FROM time immemorial, no forces of the maritime European nations have marched by land through the dominions of the government; but the route of all the trading and European nations has been
by

by the ocean. Nor is it stipulated in the treaty, that the English detachments shall have a passage through the government territories. Reflect maturely on this, and then determine, on whose side the blame rests. — That such unlooked - for acts should proceed from you, is a matter of the highest astonishment; to think that mighty and powerful chiefs should act in direct opposition to the faith of their engagements. — You are pleased to write, that if the presidency of Bombay shall still continue to require the troops, you can in no case agree to recall them. — The matter is briefly thus: — The king of England, and the English Company, have placed confidence in the supreme council of Calcutta, and invested it with authority over all the other settlements. The acts of the council of Calcutta are binding on the government of all the Company's settlements. Having given this assurance, he proposed the form of a treaty, such as the critical situation of the times rendered necessary. — You transmitted a treaty conformably

formably thereto, under the seal of the English Company.—It was from the beginning, the earnest wish of the government of Bombay, that no friendly connection should be established between the two states, and they have been, ever since, striving to upset it. And notwithstanding the conclusion of the treaty, they kept Ragoba, with them. How then was it to be expected, that they should recall their troops, which were disturbing the peace of the government's dominions? It even appears, to a conviction, that they persuaded Ragoba to the measures he has pursued. How then does the supreme authority of the council of Calcutta from the king of England, appear, since the chiefs of the different settlements do not regard engagements made by you as binding on them, but make no scruple to break them: and you, Sir, paying no regard to your own acts, take your measures on the representations of the government of Bombay. This is indeed astonishing to the highest degree!

It

“IT is the dictate of sound policy, that you withdraw your troops to your own territory. This will be a convincing proof of the sincerity of your friendship, and will spread the fame of your good faith throughout the universe.

“FROM the commencement of the government of the family of the Paishwa, they have entered into treaties with many of the chiefs of the east and west, and have never before experienced such a want of faith from any one ; nor ever, to the present time, deviated from their engagements, or been wanting to the duties of friendship and alliance : the blame rests with you.”

LETTER LXII.

To J—— M——, Esq. London.

Calcutta, Jan. 18, 1780.

WHILE one army was marching from Bombay, to place Ragoba at the head of the administration of Poonah, another was moving from Bengal, to raise to the same distinguished station Moodajee-Boosla, Rajah of Berar. You start at this, as being incredible; nevertheless, it is a fact, as you will be convinced by the following narrative.

ON the 23d of February, Mr. Hastings presented a letter from Bombay, representing the favourable circumstances at the court of Poonah, and other particulars, tending to induce the English to support

port the pretensions of Roganaut-row to the office of Paishwa. On this letter he founded a motion to march a detachment over land to support the army of Bombay. The governor's double vote, together with that of Mr. Barwell, having over-ruled the single votes of their opponents, it was resolved, that for this purpose a detachment should be sent under the command of Colonel Matthew Leslie, consisting of one hundred and three officers, six thousand six hundred and twenty-four troops, nineteen thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine servants, and twelve thousand buzars or market-people. An army only of six thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven troops, and a suit of thirty-one thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine servants and sutlers, was ordered to traverse an unexplored country of immense extent *, abounding in fastnesses, intersected by defiles and navigable rivers, and inhabited by a war-

* Fifteen hundred miles.

like and hostile people. This detachment began their march in the month of May.

It was now the wet season, and torrents of rain overflowed the country, destroying the roads, and making even small rivers and brooks impassable. The effect of the heat was fatally experienced by the troops and their numerous attendants, on the first day's march from Calpee: for either through the ignorance of their conductors, or the obstinacy of the commander, they moved out of the right course; and through fatigue and want of water, between three and four hundred persons died raving mad. Captain Crawford, one of the best men and bravest officers in India, died in that state, of two hours illness. Colonel Parker, Major Fullarton, Captain Ash, Captain Showers, and about ten subalterns, happily recovered from dangerous illnesses.

THE

THE army having crossed the Jumna, notwithstanding the fierce opposition of the Marratta states adjoining to that river, and proceeded into the very heart of an hostile country, its recall from which would be construed into a disgraceful retreat, the governor general did not think it necessary any longer to disguise his real object in this expedition. The same army, which originally was destined to support the pretensions of Ragoba, is now to be made the instrument of placing Moodajee-Boosla at the head of the Marratta empire, as well in opposition to Roganaut-row, as his adversaries; and the Company is to join with that prince in invading the dominions of their own ally, the Nizam of the Deccan. And yet Mr. Hastings, in the month of December last, declared, that this Moodajee-Boosla, who was then dangerously ill, and expected to die, was not the real Rajah of Berar, nor the pretender to the Marratta imperial throne; but the Naib, or deputy Rajah of Berar, during the minority of the real prince.

IN consequence of this change in the destination of the expedition, Colonel Leslie was ordered to take his route through Berar, instead of pursuing his journey directly through Malva.—At the beginning of a French war, and at a time when all India beheld the Company's growing power with jealousy and with dread, instead of providing for the security of Bengal, or any other of our possessions in the east, the governor general dispatches Mr. Elliot with powers and instructions to enter into a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Rajah of Berar. By this treaty, Roganaut-row was to be set aside, and Moodajee-Boosla to be placed at the head of the Marratta empire, and to be supported in his pretensions against the Company's ally, the Soubah of the Deccan, the richest prince in Hindostan. Mr. Elliot set out on this embassy; but dying on his journey, all the negotiations intrusted to him were of course suspended.—And here let me digress from my narrative, in order to
lament

lament the too early fate of one of the most amiable characters, and elevated geniuses that ever dignified humanity. All who knew him were his friends; even strangers, to whom report alone afforded an opportunity of admiring his talents and virtues, mourned for the death of Mr. Elliot. He fell a martyr to patriotism and fidelity to the East India Company. Afflicted with a disorder peculiar to the east, which originates in bilious obstructions, and the cure of which requires a copious application of mercury, his duty prevailing over every other consideration; he undertook a long and fatiguing journey, in the rainy season, without a possibility of enjoying such accommodations as might be suitable to his state of health. After leaving the Company's territories, he discovered, that Governor Chevalier, who had secretly escaped from Chandernagore, was pursuing the same route before him. Knowing the ambitious designs of that man, and the accurate knowledge he had acquired of the politics of India, he

strained every nerve to seize his person, dreading that his liberty and arrival in France might be attended with the worst consequences to the Company's affairs, and the views of Great Britain. He pushed onward by forced journies, still tracing and approaching M. Chevalier. Unfortunately, just when he had the chase in view, his progress was obstructed by a sudden overflow of the waters of one of the large rivers of Catac. Regardless of the state of his health, and the medicines he had taken, by an extraordinary exertion of activity and strength, he encountered the rapid stream, and swam across the river with a few of his attendants and sepoy. He found M. Chevalier at the metropolis of Catac: and, although escorted only by a few sepoy, he claimed the person of Governor Chevalier with such sensible arguments and manly eloquence, that the Rajah surrendered him.

As Mr. Elliot had but a small escort, and the longest and most dangerous part

of his journey was yet to be performed, he could not, without sacrificing the object of his commission, return a guard to conduct M. Chevalier and his companion M. Moneron to Calcutta; wherefore he engaged their paroles in writing, to surrender themselves prisoners of war, within a limited time, to the governor general.— M. Chevalier and M. Moneron performed their engagements. Mr. Elliot pursued his route to Berar; but died a few days thereafter.—

CHATTERPORE, the capital of Bundelcund, *the country of diamonds*, is situated near the western confines of that province. Its distance from Calcutta may be computed at twenty days journey for a native courier. Here Colonel Leslie had lain near three months, committing in the country around many hostilities and depredations. A letter from this officer was laid before the supreme council upon the 19th of October, wherein he stated the causes which retarded his march; and

accounts

accounts for his not having been heretofore more explicit in his communications to the board, by saying, that he had furnished Mr. Hastings, at his own special desire, with a particular journal of occurrences, and therefore had trusted to him for such explanations as the board might require. The Colonel, notwithstanding his delays and depredations, expressed not the least apprehension of Mr. Hastings's resentment, or of any effects it could produce; but, on the contrary, he set him at open defiance in plain terms, and refused to hold private correspondence with him any longer.

LETTER

accounts for his not having been hereto-
fore more explicit in his communications
to the board, by saying, that he had fur-

LETTER LXIII.

desire, with a particular journal of occur-
rences, and therefore had trusted to him for

To J— M—, Esq; London.

such explanations as the board might re-
quire. The Colonel, notwithstanding his
expressions, expected not the

Calcutta, Jan. 21, 1780.

COLONEL LESLIE died at Chat-
terpore on the 3d of October 1778.

He was succeeded in the chief command
of the detachment by Colonel Goddard;
who received a charge to renew the nego-
ciation with Moodajee-Boofla, on the prin-
ciples of Mr. Elliot's instructions, with
full power to conclude a treaty.

THE power that had been delegated on
the 15th of October, to the presidency of
Bombay, of commanding the march of
the detachment, was revoked, and Colonel
Goddard was to be directed only by orders
from the supreme council. The gover-
nor general, on the 12th of October, had
violently

violently censured the presidency of Bombay, for not pushing matters to extremity against the Marratta regency, in order to reinstate Roganaut-row in the office of Paishwa; he now takes a measure inconsistent with the ostensible object of the expedition, which was to co-operate with the Bombay army in favour of Ragoba. For, without a preconcerted coincidence of movements, how can two armies act for one end? and, how can there be a coincidence of movements, where armies are under separate commands? But, notwithstanding Mr. Hastings's warm approbation of the plan for raising Ragoba to the Marratta throne, he considered his cause as desperate; and even while he approved the resolutions of the Bombay presidency, to accompany him with an army to Poonah, he declared, that he considered them as resolutions to do nothing: an opinion for which an extreme fluctuation in the councils of Bombay, had indeed given good ground. But though he entertained no hopes in the measures of that presidency

dency in favour of Ragoba, he probably trusted that they might save at least his detachment; a conjecture which the event fully justified. It is certain, however, from the uniform tenor of Mr. Hastings's minutes, as well as the letters to and from the Rajah of Berar, that the real object of that expedition was an alliance with the Rajah, and an embassy to solicit him to become a candidate for the sovereignty of the Marratta empire. Yet the expedition over land was planned and resolved on the 23d of February 1778; and by the sixth article of the instructions to the presidency of Bombay, to treat conclusively and effectually with Roganaut-row, bearing date the 18th of the ensuing month of March, the supreme council were solemnly bound to perform every condition which any such treaty might contain. And if violation of faith was not intended from the beginning, why was not the government of Bombay commanded to forbear entering into any treaty with Roganaut-row, the moment

ment that it was resolved to enter into a negociation with Moodajee-Boosla; and to avoid all overt hostilities against the Marhattas, unless in self-defence, until they should be expressly authorized by the supreme council, or Court of Directors? Or, why was it not confidentially intrusted with the design in favour of the Rajah, and directed to contribute to its success when it was ripe for execution?

In prosecution of his views of exalting Moodajee-Boosla to the Marratta imperial throne, Mr. Hastings wrote the following letter to his prime minister, *Dewagur Pundit*, dated in Calcutta, 23d November 1778: “In the whole of my conduct I have departed from the common line of policy, and have made advances when others in my situation would have waited for solicitations; as the greatest advantages to which I can look, cannot in their nature equal those to which the prosperous issue of our measures may conduct the state of the Maha-rajah’s government.

But

But I know the characters to which I address myself. I trust to the approved bravery and spirit of your chief, that he will ardently catch at the objects presented to *his* ambition; and to *your* wisdom, of which, if fame reports truly, no minister ever possessed a larger portion, that you will view their importance in too clear a light to hazard the loss of them, by attempting to take an advantage of the desire which I have expressed for their accomplishment. This intimation is not so much intended for a caution to you, as for an explanation of my conduct to those who may be less able to penetrate the grounds of it."

BUT Moodajee-Boosla did not catch at the objects presented to his ambition, with that ardor which the governor looked for; nor does it appear that he ever had an idea of the nature and extent of Mr. Hastings's views; much less that he entertained any design of waging war against the Marratta regency and the Soubah of the Deccan,

Deccan, or of entering into any engagements with the Company, that would lead him into a rupture with either of those states, his neighbours. The Rajah, tottering on the brink of the grave, wisely preferred peace in mediocrity to the flattering, but uncertain allurements offered to his ambition. He undertook to vindicate the Paishwa from the charge brought against him by the Company's servants, of maintaining a secret connection with the French; and offered, with great earnestness, his own mediation to effect, between his countrymen and the English, a perfect reconciliation.

LETTER

LETTER LXIV.

To J—— M——, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Jan. 25, 1780.

IN the beginning of January 1779, Colonel Goddard, with the detachment, crossed the Narbudda, and encamped on the southern banks of that river, within the territory of Berar, where he waited to be informed of the final resolution of Moodajee-Boosla. He deputed Lieutenant Weatherstone to Naig-pore, in order to press the Rajah to conclude the proposed treaty, and immediately to enter on the execution of it; but without the smallest success. That prince declined entering into any treaty, or taking any active part whatever, till further accounts should arrive from Calcutta. As a pretext for this refusal, he pleaded the part taken by the

council of Bombay, in favour of Roganaut-row, and not only recommended, but earnestly entreated the English to abandon that chief, and accept of terms from the ministerial party in Poonah.

THE government of Berar had a thousand arguments to oppose to those urged in favour of the plan for their assuming the dignity of Ram-rajah of Setterah; particularly, “their pledged faith, and the friendship they had sworn to the present Paishwa. Their asserting their pretensions to the sovereignty, they affirmed, would be encountered by numberless obstacles. A victory could not be obtained without shedding much blood, and violating the most sacred engagements.” The support afforded by the English to Roganaut-row, they considered “as highly impolitical, and predicted, that in the end it would be found to be so. Roganaut-row, they said, was held in universal abhorrence; and the prejudices in the Deccan against that

that chief, would not easily, if ever, be removed."

THESE sentiments of the Maha-rajah and his ministers, being communicated to Governor Hastings, very much disconcerted and distressed him. He sent a letter to Moodajee-Boosla, in which he laments rather than complains, of the distrust entertained by the Rajah; and declares, that had he accepted of the terms offered to him by Colonel Goddard, and concluded a treaty with the government of Bengal, he (Mr. Hastings) should have held the obligation of it superior to that of any engagement formed by the government of Bombay; "and should have thought it his duty to have maintained it against every consideration, even of the most valuable interests and safety of the English possessions intrusted to his charge *." To you," continued the go-

* This declaration of Mr. Hastings surpasses the bitterest accusations of his adversaries, and exposes views and purposes totally inconsistent with duty and fidelity.

vernor general, "I had unreservedly committed all my views, partly and indistinctly by letters, but very fully in repeated conversations with your Vakeel Beneram Pundit, as it would have been very improper to have affairs of such delicacy and importance committed to letters, and to the hazards to which these would have been exposed in a long and doubtful journey. Your caution was still greater, and perhaps more commendable, although I may regret the necessity which prescribed it; for neither your letters, nor the letters of Beneram Pundit, afforded me the least clue to judge of your sentiments or inclination respecting the particular points of action which were to form the substance of our projected engagements. And although from your general professions, and the warmth and sincerity with which these were manifestly dictated, I had every reason to conclude that you approved of them; yet, without some assurances, common prudence required, that I should not precipitately abandon
every

every other resource, and irrevocably commit the honour and interests of this government in a doubtful measure. Precautions were taken, that nothing should be undertaken by any of the governments dependent on this, which might eventually interfere with those actually concluded with you."

THE governor's letter had no effect on Moodajee-Boosla ; and Colonel Goddard, having received a letter from GENERAL Carnac and Colonel Egerton, bearing date the 11th of January*, advising him not to continue his march towards Poonah, but to proceed either to Baroach or Surat, or to remain on the borders of Berar, wisely followed their advice. He moved with his detachment from Brahm-pore, on the 6th of February, and arrived at Surat about the 26th of that month, without having met with any opposition, or so

* Whence it is evident, that these gentlemen discovered their mistake before the first action with the Marratta army.

much as even seeing an enemy ; and, had the army been commanded by a man of less bravery and activity, this expedition might not have been so successful. The Marrattas called in all their troops to oppose the Bombay army ; and the treaty made with Mr. Carnac, lulled them into a security, until it was disavowed in Bombay ; and in the mean time, Colonel Goddard pressed his march, and escaped.

LETTER LXV.

To J—M—, Esq. London.

Calcutta, Jan. 26, 1780.

EUROPEAN nations falsely imagine, that all the delicacy of taste and refinement of sentiment that are to be found in the world, are possessed by themselves; other nations, they consider as rude and barbarous. It is true, that a few men of enlightened understandings are ready to allow a degree of cultivation to certain Asiatic nations: but I am apt to think, that even these men under-rate the talents as well as the virtues of the sons of the east; at least, I have scarcely met with any author who speaks on this subject with any degree of enthusiasm. Every body seems willing to give a tacit consent to that vast superiority, in all respects,

respects, which European vanity and arrogance have assumed over all the rest of the world.

THE following letter from the Maharajah Moodajee-Boosla, to Mr. Hastings, for good sense, a spirit of justice, humanity, and delicacy of sentiment and taste, may justly be compared with any of Pliny or Cicero.

Copy of a letter from MOODAJEE-BOOSLA to Governor HASTINGS, dated the 5th December 1778, and received the 2d January 1779.

“YOUR friendly letter of the 19th Ramzam, (11th October) informing me of your having received advice of the death of Mr. Elliot, in his way to Naigpore *; your concern at that event, and at the unavoidable suspensions of the negotiations which that gentleman was to

* The capital of Berar.

have conducted with me on the part of your government; and the delay in the establishment of a strict and perpetual friendship between the Company's state and mine (concerning which you had exerted yourself so warmly) by reason that the present situation of affairs would not admit of the delay which must attend the deputation of another person from thence, without injuring the designs in hand; but that in your conviction of my favourable disposition, from the knowledge that my interests and the Company's are inseparably connected; and in the zeal of Beneram Pundit, whom, during the long period he resided with you, you found so deserving of your confidence, &c. &c : That the plan proposed, and what you have written, is to promote our common advantage, not for the interest of one party only, being convinced, that no public alliance or private friendship, can be firmly established without reciprocal advantages: That it is on these principles you had

long

long ago planned an alliance with me, the time for the accomplishment of which is now come ; for you conceive it to be equally for my interest as for yours, our countries bordering on each other, and our natural enemies being the same : That, in a word, you required nothing but the junction of my forces with yours, by which, though each is singly very powerful, they will acquire a ten-fold proportion of strength : That the delay of the progress in the detachment intended for Bombay, had not arisen from the opposition of an enemy, but from other causes improper to mention ; but that it will now shortly arrive in my territories, and its operation be determined by my advice : That you have given directions to Colonel Leslie, to co-operate with the forces which I shall unite with his : That as you offer me the forces of your Circar to promote my views, you in return require the assistance of mine to effect your purposes ; with other particulars which I
fully

fully understand, reached me on the 26th Shawand (16th November) and afforded me great pleasure. I also received duplicate and triplicate of this letter.—In the latter part of it you express, that as you have made me acquainted with your views, it is necessary that I also communicate to you, without reserve, the ends which I look to for my advantage in this union: That the good faith of the English to every engagement they contract, so long as it is observed by others, is universally known; and that it has been the inviolable rule of your conduct, to support this character in all acts depending on you, and never to relinquish any design of importance formed on good and judicious grounds, but to persevere steadily to its completion: That having thus explained to me your sentiments and views, you wait only to know mine; and on the knowledge of these, you shall form your ultimate resolution.—

“IT

“It is equally a maxim of sincere friendship and good government, steadiness, magnanimity, and foresight, that a plan, formed on good and judicious grounds, should be conducted in such a manner as to end happily. You desire to learn my sentiments and views; and deferring to form your ultimate resolutions until you had heard further from me, is the same thing as if you had consulted me primarily on your first designs.

“SINCE, after the strictest scrutiny and researches into dispositions and views of the multitude, it has been determined, on proofs of mutual sincerity and good faith, that a perpetual friendship and union be established, it will, like the wall of Alexander, for the happiness of mankind, continue unshaken until the end of time.

“THE having caused a translation to be made into English of the Hindoo books, called

EUROPE, ASIA, *and* AFRICA. 333

called the Shafter and Poran, and of the history of the former kings; the studying these books, and keeping the pictures of the former kings and present rulers of Hind, Decan, &c. always before your eyes, and from their lifeless similitude to discover which of them were or are worthy of rule, and possessed of good faith; from which to determine with whom to contract engagements, and what conduct to observe to them respectively;—also, the endeavour to preserve the blessing of peace, until forced to relinquish it;—the supporting every one in his hereditary right; and revenging the breach of faith and engagements; but on the submission of the offenders, the exercise of the virtues of clemency and generosity, by pardoning, and receiving him again into favour, and restoring him to his possessions;—the not suffering the intoxication of power to reduce you into a breach of faith;—and the giving support to each illustrious house in proportion to its respective merits, and in matters which
required

required a long course of years to bring to perfection ;—the forming your conduct on mature deliberation, and the advice of the Company and Council,—are the sure means of exalting your greatness and prosperity to the highest pitch.——The intention of all this is to recommend universal peace and friendship in the manner following : The Almighty disposes of kingdoms, and places whomsoever he chuses on the seats of power and rule ; but makes their stability to depend on their peaceable, just, and friendly conduct to others.—It is not every one who is equal to the task of government, on the plan designed by the Almighty Ruler, and of ensuring his stability by a wise and just conduct.—Hind and Deccan possess, at present, very few enlightened, but a great multitude of weak and ignorant men : The English chiefs, and you in a superior degree, possess all the virtues above recited, who coming from distant islands by a six month's voyage on the great ocean, by their magnanimity and fortitude, gained
the

the admiration of many Soubahs on this continent. It is easy to acquire a kingdom; but to become a king over kings, and chief of chiefs, is a very difficult matter. The attainment of this is only to be effected by the means of friendship, by which the universe may be subjected. My conduct is framed on these principles. —The residence of Beneram Pundit at Calcutta, was solely to effect the establishment of the most intimate friendship; and by the blessing of God it has taken such deep root, that through your means it has reached the ears of the Company and King of England: And our connection and correspondence, carried on under the veil of the vicinity of our dominions, has been discovered by the Poonah Ministers, and by the Nabob Nizum-ul-Dowla; yet, though they form various conjectures and doubts, and have sent a trusty Vakeel, and written repeated letters, to endeavour to find out the motives of our union, yet they remain a mystery, as I make the
plea

plea of our ancient ties, and the junction of our territories.

“ I was impatiently expecting the arrival of Mr. Elliot, who being endowed with an enlightened understanding, and invested with full powers from you to conduct the negotiations, and determine on the measures to be pursued, would have established the ties of a perpetual friendship, and have settled every matter on the firmest basis. It pleased God that he should die on the journey ; and the grief I felt at his unfortunate loss, who would have been the means of settling all points between us, to our mutual content, and by his negociation with me, giving satisfaction to the Paishwa and Nabob Nizam-ul-Dowla ; all which have been by his death thrown back many months ; my grief is not to be described, and only serves to add to your affliction. I have not yet recovered the shock which that event gave me, as you will learn more fully from Beheram

Pundit. There is no remedy for such misfortunes, and it is in vain to strive against the decrees of Providence. Had Mr. Elliot arrived, such strokes of policy would have been employed, that the Poonah ministers would have adhered more scrupulously than before to their engagements; and the French, who are the natural enemies of the English, would have been theirs likewise; and their suspicions from apprehensions of support being given to Roganaut-row, which never was, nor is designed by the English chiefs, as I learn from Beneram, who had it from your own mouth, and which has caused them great uneasiness, would have been entirely removed by Mr. Elliot and my joint security.

“ THE Nabob Nizam-ul-Dowla,—who wrote you repeatedly on this subject, and received for answer, that you had no idea of aiding or supporting Roganaut-row; that your enmity was solely pointed

against the French; and that whoever assisted the French were your enemies,—would likewise by these means have been thoroughly satisfied, and your detachment would have reached Bombay, without meeting the smallest interruption; and had the Poonah ministers then acted a contrary part, I should have withdrawn myself from their friendship. But by the death of Mr. Elliot, all these designs have fallen to the ground, and must be suspended until another opportunity, and the knowledge of your sentiments. It is a proverb, “that whatever is deliberately done, is well done.” In reply to what you write respecting your framing your ultimate resolutions, I have communicated to Beneram Pundit whatever I judge proper and eligible, and which may promote them in such a manner as may not be subject to any change from the vicissitudes of fortune. For those points which I fixed on, after minute deliberation, as the most eligible that can be adopted, I refer you to the letters of
Beneram

Beneram Pundit. If, notwithstanding, you have any plan to propose for the reciprocal benefit of our states, be pleased to communicate to me.

POSTSCRIPT.

“To your letter respecting sending an army to overawe the French, and to reinforce the government of Bombay; and setting forth that the Poonah ministers having broken the treaty with the English, and in opposition to the rights of friendship received an envoy of the French king, and granted the port of Choul to that nation, thereby enabling them to form an arsenal, and collect military stores; and of their having written to their officers, to permit the French ships to enter their ports; and that it being therefore incumbent on you to take measures to counteract their designs, you had determined to send a strong detachment for the reinforcement of Bombay, by the route of Berar; and

that in consideration of our ancient friendship, and the vicinity of our dominions, you requested, that on its arrival in my neighbourhood, I would cause it to be instructed in the route, and, providing it with provisions and necessaries, have it conducted in safety through my territories, and join a body of my forces with it, which would increase and cement our friendship; and that you have, at the assurance of Beneram, fixed on this route for its march in preference to any other. In reply to this letter, actuated by its dictates of the sincerest friendship, I waited not to take the advice of any one, but without hesitation wrote you, That where a sincere friendship existed, the passage of troops through my country was a matter of no moment; that they should proceed immediately through my country. I likewise informed Colonel Leslie of the difficulties and dangers he would meet with in the way, from dangerous mountains, extensive rivers, &c. And also dispatched Lalla Jadda Roy, with a chief of note, to
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the banks of the Narbudda, to supply the detachment with provisions as long as they were in my territory, and to treat them with all the duties of hospitality; where he waited in expectation of their arrival for six months to no purpose. They loitered away their time in the Bundle Cund countries, contrary to every rule of policy. At that time all the Poonah ministers were separately employed in their own private affairs, or in the war with Hyder Naig, insomuch that they had no time to turn their attention to the concerns of other parts, and the march to Bombay might have been effected with the greatest ease. The time is now past. The arrow is shot, and cannot be recalled. As I have repeatedly written to the Poonah ministers, with whom I keep up a correspondence on the subject of their encouraging a French envoy, and breaking their faith with the English chiefs, acts highly inconsistent with honour and policy; the answer I have received from them, I have communicated to you. The substance of what they

they say in their own justification is this: That the French Vakeel came for the purpose of traffic, not to negotiate; yet, for the satisfaction of the English, they gave him his dismissal: That the account of the grant of the port of Choul, and an arsenal, is entirely without foundation; and that they have not the least indisposition towards the English: That I will therefore write to Calcutta, that you may be perfectly satisfied respecting their disposition.—My letters did not produce the effect of satisfying you on the subject of the Paishwa, but your doubts still remained. And, actuated by wisdom and prudence, you determined to send Mr. Elliot to me; and wrote to me, that on his arrival at Naigpore, after he had an interview with me, and learned my sentiments and views, he would, in conjunction with me, form a plan for our mutual honour and benefit, and give directions to Colonel Leslie in consequence, who would be guided thereby.—The event of this gentleman's deputation is too well known; and

and Colonel Leslie likewise, after engaging in hostilities with the Paishwa's officers and Zemindars of these parts, and collecting large sums of money, died. Colonel Goddard succeeded to the command, and pursued the same line of conduct, with respect to the Talookdars, as his predecessor; and arriving at Garawale and Garafur in the territory of the Afghans, whither he was obliged to march with the utmost caution, being surrounded with a Marratta army, who constantly seized every opportunity to attack him, wrote me from thence, that he should shortly reach the Narbudda, where I would be pleased to cause grain and other necessaries to be prepared, and a party of my forces to be ready to join him.—I wrote him in answer, That Lalla Jada Roy, and Shao Baal Hazail were waiting on that side the Narbudda which is within my territories, and that the Gaut where the troops should cross was two coss from hence, under Hasingabad; that Janojee Boosla forded it with his army at that place, on his expedition

dition to Malawa, and that I did not doubt it was now fordable ; that he should therefore cross his army there, and repair to Haffingabad : That Lalla Jada Roy would exert his utmost assiduity in supplying him with grain and other provisions, and treat them with every degree of hospitality ; but that, as the road forward was very difficult and dangerous, and thousands of the Balha Castes were concealed in the holes in the mountains ; who though not able to oppose him openly, yet would do it by ambuscade and strata-gems, and cut off his supplies of provisions ; and that, beyond that he would enter the Soubahship of Barhampore, dependent on the Paishwa : That near 4000 of Scindia's cavalry were waiting at the fort of Affur, for the arrival of the English on the banks of the Ganges ; 10,000 more were under the command of Bagarut Sundiab ; Scindiah himself with the chiefs in readiness at Poonah, waiting to hear of the approach of the English ; and moreover in Berar, in which the Nabob Nizam-

Mr Dowla possesses a share with me, all
 the Jaghirdars were in readiness with
 powerful armies; and although the Eng-
 lish possessed the greatest magnanimity in
 battle, yet as every step they took would
 be just into the mouth of danger, and all
 the above-mentioned chiefs would set
 themselves to cut off and destroy his pro-
 visions, and take every opportunity of at-
 tacking him when they saw an advantage,
 and of harrassing him night and day, con-
 stantly surrounding his army with their
 numerous forces, the junction of a body
 of my forces with his, would avail nothing
 in the face of such large armies, but
 would only involve me in the greatest losses.
 That it neither was adviseable for him to
 return, which would diminish the awe and
 respect in which he was held; that I
 would therefore write the particulars ex-
 plicitly to Calcutta, and that whatever you
 should think proper to intimate to him and
 me in reply, it would be adviseable to
 abide by, and act accordingly. All which
 time I would recommend that he con-
 tinued

tinued at Hoffingur.—That I have received letters from Calcutta, filled with the warmest friendship and confidence to the following purport: “That the detachment should come into my neighbourhood, and be guided in its operations by my advice: That it is incumbent on every chief who enjoys the confidence of another, to give such advice as may be most advantageous to the party reposing trust, and most consistent with the faith of engagements; and that with such conduct the Almighty is well pleased.” That I had also written to the Poonah ministers my advice on the situation of affairs, to this purport: “That Mr. Elliot was deputed hither to negotiate with me, but dying in the journey, all the negotiations intrusted to him were suspended; that had he arrived at Naigpore, I had determined, from principles of attachment, to have removed from the minds of the English the doubts and apprehensions which had arisen by reason of the supposed encouragement of the French envoy at Poonah, and the agreement

agreement to support that nation, who were the inveterate enemies of the English, which had given rise to the quarrel between the two states, by proving to them under the sanction of solemn oaths, and becoming myself guarantee, that all those reports were groundless, and that the Poonah ministers were steady and zealous in their engagements with the English, and on several accounts highly obliged to them. And I would have taken from Mr. Elliot, engagements, that the English had no idea of affording support to Roganantrow, but were resolved to maintain their treaty inviolate; and that their apprehensions related to the French; and that when I gave the English satisfaction relating to the French, and became guarantee, all his doubts would be removed; and that if it was requisite, a fresh engagement should be executed, to which he would be a guarantee: That, in brief, each party entertained a reasonable doubt; the English, that the Poonah ministers would join with the French; and the Poonah ministers,

ministers, that the English support Roganaut-row : That when these suspicions no longer remained, all causes of displeasure would of course cease; and that they could have no objection to a detachment of English forces, sent for the reinforcement of Bombay, and to overawe the French, not for the support of Roganaut-row, repairing thither; and to oppose them would in such case have been highly improper." &c. &c. &c.

SECOND POSTSCRIPT.

"BABOO-ROW, the Paishwa's vakeel, has observed to me in the course of conversation, that his master has not the slightest idea of failing in his engagements with the English, or of contracting any friendship with the French; but that the treaty forbids the march of English forces through the Paishwa's dominions; that therefore the appearance of the detachment now on its march, is an infringement of the treaty.

THIRD

ministers, that the English support Roganaut-row: That when these suspicions no longer remained, all cases of displeasure would of course cease; and that they could have no objection to a detachment of English forces, sent for the reinforcement of Bombay, and to overawe the French.

THIRD POSTSCRIPT.

“ALTHOUGH it may appear improper to repeat the same thing over again, yet the importance of the subject may plead in my excuse. On either part, a doubt subsists. The Poonah ministers suspect that the English forces on their march to Bombay, though ostensibly for the purpose of opposing the French, are in reality intended for the support of Roganaut-row; and that the English at Bombay, who were not included in the treaty with the Paishwa, which was concluded through the government of Bengal, with the advice of the chief at Calcutta, are desirous of breaking with the Paishwa, and supporting Roganaut-row; and that the detachment had been sent at their requisition. They alledge, that the chief of Calcutta writes to them, that he is firmly resolved to adhere to the treaty with the Paishwa; and that the detachment he has sent to Bombay, is solely to awe the French, without

without the least design to assist Roganautrow; and that since it is forbidden in the treaty to dispatch troops over land, the march of the troops is a breach of it: That if it is necessary to send troops to Bombay to awe the French, they ought to be sent by sea.

“THE English on their part suspect the Poonah ministers of joining the French, in consequence of having received a French vakeel. As the Paishwa formerly wrote me, that he had no idea of failing in his engagements with the English, and that he had given no encouragement to the French vakeel, who came for the purpose of traffic, and that he had dismissed him, therefore requested that I would satisfy you in that respect; I, in consequence, formerly wrote you all these particulars. As I have a voucher in my hand from the Paishwa, that he has no connection with the French, and is steady to his engagements with the English, I am able, by this voucher, to give you complete satisfaction

faction on this head; but I have no voucher, or intimation from you, by which I may be able to give satisfaction to him.

“As he pleads a prohibition in the treaty, to the march of forces over land, and likewise complains respecting the money collected by Colonel Leslie in his territories, what answer can be made thereto?

“As the time requires, that a reconciliation take place with the Poonah ministers, you will consider and determine what reply shall be given to these two points of which they complain; and by what means they may be satisfied; and communicate your resolution to me, that I may write conformably thereto, and remove all doubts.”

LETTER

LETTER LXVI.

To J— M—, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Jan. 24, 1780.

THE Company's concerns in Europe and in India, are now reduced to a state, by much too critical not to alarm every person whose mind is not callous, and tainted with deliberate treachery *.

THE nation, engaged in a general war in Europe and America, must, ere now, have contracted with the Company to continue their charter, and the possession of all territorial revenues in India, in consideration of a gift and loan of several millions.

* The substance of this letter on the subject of an intended coalition, was also sent to a member of government in Bengal.

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THE Company were fully justified, by the confident asseveration of their governor general and the second in supreme council, on the 10th of August 1778, to conclude with certainty, that near three millions sterling are now unappropriated in their treasury in Bengal, without any reduction of the current investments; and therefore, to make these very important and seasonable concessions to the nation.

THE nation, equally confident in the truth of what the Company's principal ministers abroad had asserted, and the Directors at home believed, must have implicitly trusted to that resource; and either advanced proportionably in the measure of expence, by prosecuting the war with vigour, or seasonably relaxed in taxing the people.

THE measures, obstinately and perversely pursued in India, have consumed all the Company's treasures in Bengal; and in some establishments have increased their

debts, without the probable means of removing the causes, or of retrieving their circumstances; infomuch, that it is to be apprehended, the very investments must be curtailed, if not wholly stopt, instead of making an extraordinary remittance of three millions to Britain, to answer the Company's engagements to the nation.

THE weight of this disappointment will embarrass government, and operate as a double tax upon the nation, already depressed in means, and in credit: The minister will throw it upon the Company; the Company will justify themselves by the baseness and treachery of their principal servants abroad; the nation will accuse the Directors, as accessaries in the guilt of their servants, whom they might have removed, as their malversations had repeatedly been communicated to them; the Directors will retort upon administration, by recurring to the censures, which they had freely thrown from time to time upon the majority of their principal servants;

wants; and alledging that, under the secret influence and protection of ministerial power, the delinquents were not only kept in their stations, but encouraged in contemptuous disobedience, and a continuation of abuses.

THE nation will view it in its true light; it will become a subject of impeachment; the perfidious authors will be abandoned to their fate. A bill of pains and penalties will pass unanimously, because no minister will dare to support so bad a cause; private property will be sequestered, and the offending person arrested.

THE chief author of these great evils sees the approaching event with dreadful alarm; he dreads again the apostacy of Sir E—— C——e; again he beholds all the powers in India roused, and united to oppose the unabating ambition of a foreign people, under the guidance of men, who

have proved themselves strangers equally to public and private faith, and to the purity and sacredness of solemn engagements. He fears the premature arrival of French auxiliaries, to incorporate with, and to direct the offended native states. He knows that all the powers in India have lost confidence in himself, and that pacific overtures are therefore needless. He desires, now, to lessen the odium against himself, and to elude a part of the public censure, by associating his opponents in all his pernicious measures, by a late coalition. He wishes also to associate them in support of his foul, destructive, and illegal contracts—in the misconduct and enormous depredations of the late resident at Oude. And he dreads that old practices, even antecedent to the present government, will burst out into judgment against him. Craft, subtilty, temporizing, and self-possession, are peculiar to a thirty years education under wily Rajahs, Bani-
nians, and Circars in Hindostan. He is
not

not only insincere, but premeditatedly intent on deception, the instant that a breach of faith can gratify his resentment, because he is implacable; or his purposes, because he is political; or his power, because he is imperious; and would rather part with existence than with authority, or cease to be idolized and flattered.

HE sees no alternative, but to pursue the war; he sees, that to pursue the war, besides the chances of being worsted at all quarters, he must stop all investments; and he sees, that to stop the investments will be followed with the immediate bankruptcy of the Company in Europe. Nay, he must see, that such is the miserable state to which his measures have reduced trade, that all the current year's investment being already in store, it cannot be converted into money; and that money is now indispensably wanted to carry on the war. And his discernment points out clearly to his view, the intire destruction of the Company's power in Bengal, Bahar, and the

the Vizier's provinces, if the manufacturers are thrown idle, and consequently forced to emigrate for bread.

IN this critical dilemma, he calls artfully for relief from those, whose arguments against his own perfidious measures he had heretofore treated so contemptuously, as not to deign answers to them.

HE knows, that to secure success in any overtures to Indian princes, he himself cannot appear as ostensible minister, or as contracting-party, because they will place no confidence in his promises, engagements, or faith. That therefore, a new administration, in which he bears no leading part, can alone gain access, even to treat.

AFTER so long, so honourable, so faithful, and so steady a resistance, to save the Company, and to benefit the British nation, * however wearied with want of

* Alluding to Mr. Francis's conduct.

success and protection, to yield now, unless with a firm and unalterable purpose to support the same measures and principles, will be, to release the active aggressor from more than a third part of his guilt; and to become not an accessory, but a principal in all the mischiefs and crimes he has committed.

It may be possible to divert Hyder Ally and the Nizam from the union with the Marratta junction. A common cause, to oppose a common enemy, only could have connected men whose enmities are inherent, inveterate, and deep-rooted. A speedy and judicious embassy may effect an alliance with these two princes: and the Rajah of Berar is so contiguously situated, that the movement of a brigade over the Jumma, will withdraw him from the Poonah alliance, after the alliance is effected with Hyder Ally and the Nizam. In all, and every other respect, it will be prudent to act only on the defensive, until those connections are firmly established: and then

the Marrattas, will hearken to such just and reasonable terms, as will not dishonour the British name, tarnish its military fame, or weaken its influence in Asia.

BEFORE matters are reduced to extremities, or, that the critical situation of the Company's affairs is published, it might be expedient to open the treasures of Bengal and Madras, to receive a loan of a crore of rupees. If it cannot be effected at five per cent. as it might have been last year, to give six, seven, or even eight per cent. per annum interest, on what shall be made payable in India; or four per cent. payable, periodically, in Europe.

I SHALL set out from this place within a day or two, to embark in the ship *G—s*, now lying at the Barabutta, near the entrance of the Houghly. My next shall be from Madras, whence we are to have convoy. I shall continue this correspondence during the passage home, from the several places of refreshment. Adieu.

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LETTER

the Marattas, will hearken to such just and reasonable terms, as will not dishonour the British name, tarnish its military fame,

LETTER LXVII.

BEFORE matters are reduced to ex-

To G—L—, Esq. in Calcutta.

the Company's affairs is published, it

might be expedient to open the treasures of

On board the Ship G—s,

Madras Road, Feb. 23, 1780.

SINCERITY, my dear Sir, is too firmly implanted, both by nature and habit, in my constitution, not to command an implicit observance of such promises as are also the spontaneous offspring of esteem and friendship. I am willing to believe, that your motives in asking, were as candid as mine in promising to converse with you from the several places of refreshment.

I do not know what orders were given to the Captains R— and H—, about keeping company (although one was de-

tained a whole fortnight, for the avowed purpose of security to both, by which the fair season for a safe and quick passage to Madras was lost;) but they parted and lost sight of each other the second night, as if by mutual inclination, and by previous compact. Calms retarded our progress; so that our passage hither was tediously protracted from the 6th to this day. The want of accommodations to sit or lie, and far less to write (for I am now writing upon one knee over the other) added to the unceasing noise of eighteen children of all complexions, who are, for the most part, under no kind of government, are circumstances which have proved so exceedingly unpleasant, and opposite to my desire of retirement, that if I cannot be relieved from some of these local inconveniences, I must endeavour to procure an accommodation in some other ship at Madras, better fitted to all my views, and more consonant to the indulgences which I have ever been accustomed to enjoy at sea, even when a prisoner.—Nor can I, with an exertion of
7 pains,

pains, persuade myself to admire the generality of our aged society. We have, however, some mild, agreeable, and sensible ladies, who, to the other pleasing advantages to be derived from their conversations and dispositions, add the particular tendency of checking a species of entertainment, which has ever proved peculiarly disgusting and nauseous to me, and to which, otherwise, I plainly perceive that the bulk of our company would be very prone; that is to say, obscene and profane language.—It has fallen to my lot to make many voyages and tours; but I never remember to have seen a company so completely resembling what hath been delineated in a stage-coach in Britain, or a diligence on the continent of Europe, as that of which I now compose one. To the ladies, I have found a great acquisition in Captain C——e, who is a frank, honest, intelligent man, with a proper knowledge of men and manners, and a heart which does equal honour to his country and to humanity. If our friend

friend should ever preside in India, I wish, for the sake of both, that he was his aid de camp, with rank and emolument suitable to his merit and capacity. Major W—— improves upon acquaintance by a superior propriety of demeanour, which a knowledge of life gives him over others of our little community.—I need not tell you who I mean; but you will readily recollect a with which I had entertained, to have a certain person, for his own sake, of the party. These ideas have vanished, and I can see nothing *now* in that visionary superfluities, but self-conceit, self-love, drivelling repetitions of wit, insincerity, and a character approaching to misanthropy. Thus we find, my good friend, how difficult, and how improper it is to judge of men, from early, or even late *appearances*. Men hackneyed in deceit and dissimulation, who have power to possess themselves, can long conceal the cloven hoof, when they find it necessary to carry their ends by hypocrisy. I have often had occasion to make an observation, from experience,

T R A V E L S

EUROPE, ASIA, *and* AFRICA. 365

rience, that men having sinister views, disguise themselves with too much art to be easily detected; and that a combination of ambitious criminals, are not only impenetrable, but irresistible, by means of mutual support and encouragement in the greatest enormities. Vices, which at first might have struck them with horror, become at length, by insensible degrees, not only familiar to themselves, but infuse their contagious influence to all their dependents, until every sense of honour and virtue is absorbed in avarice, and her concomitant passions.—This digression has insensibly led to a subject, which has incessantly occupied my thoughts. By fresh discoveries, in consequence of new researches, and by probing the cancerous ulcer which has contaminated the infectious air of Bengal, I have discovered additional causes of disgust, as well as of serious apprehensions of damnable, dark designs to circumvent their opponents to their iniquitous practices, into a participation of the very measures which they had so

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honourably

honourably and faithfully pursued ; and consequently, of their own guilt ; as the most effectual means of escaping the punishment so justly due to the enormity of their own crimes. What greater curse can the justice of Providence denounce on criminals, than an ambition to acquire that kind of reputation in life, which the keen testimony of their own consciences continually belies?—This must be the tormented state of a set of men, who now practise deceit in Calcutta with envenomed art, to wound the spotless reputation of the only guiltless members of the supreme administration of India, in the hope of reducing them, in respect to guilt, to a level with themselves ; because they *now* begin to believe, that the application of eastern riches will not be able to protect them from the justice of a much-injured nation, and deluded constituents. I wish I could, with equal ease as I write, convey some recent ideas of an incredible magnitude, which, under all local inconveniences, I have cursorily committed,

as

as memorandums, to paper, since I left the Barrabutta. I only dread, that a coalition will tarnish the glory inseparable from honour, justice, and virtue.

I CANNOT avoid to express my hearty desire to know in what degree, upon what conditions, and to what purposes, the so much (by me) dreaded coalition has taken place. Indeed, it may be proper and useful to keep friends truly advised, as well to guard against misrepresentations of the general system, as to be able to refute allegations of particular or personal natures.

LETTER

LETTER LXVIII.

To — — —, Esq. in Calcutta.

Madras, March 28, 1780.

THE day after my arrival here, I used the freedom of conveying, inaccurately, some ideas which occurred on the passage from Bengal hither. Having an invincible attachment to my country; conceiving the most sanguine ideas of the unbounded advantages which the productions of Hindostan are capable of yielding, in return for the protection of Britain; and expecting to return with that kind of support which may enable me to accomplish my views with honour to myself, and benefit to the Company, to the nation, and to the natives; I am moved by a natural impulse to dwell upon a subject,

ject, which may appear foreign to my station and character.

MUCH information and knowledge of India politics, acquired by investigations in Europe, and confirmed by local evidence in foreign establishments, and in Calcutta, have directed my latest thoughts to future events, which have presented themselves to my view, big with evils to the British empire in Hindostan. I had been but a few weeks in India, when the vapour with which the partiality of my most familiar connections in Europe had obscured my understanding, was reluctantly dispelled. I soon beheld, not only the errors into which misrepresentations, and consequent prejudices, insensibly led statesmen to defeat the objects which they wished to attain, and to ruin the fairest hopes of a nation, by that dreadful combination of native princes, which the imperious law of nature dictated as the only refuge from slavery, and the only means of preserving their religious tenets and cus-

toms from the insatiable grasp of wild ambition and sordid avarice, and from the wanton scourge of relentless oppression and injustice. Driven to despair, which often inspires resolutions big with hope, the native powers of India resolved to oppose, resist, and by a united blow to annihilate the faithless authors of violated engagements, the unprovoked disturbers of the peace of Asia; and whose successes had raised in their brains, the frantic idea of omnipotence and universal monarchy. This is the substance of what those powers inculcate, to excite a general commotion against the English. They have succeeded but too well. Instead of venerating the English, they now execrate them: instead of being solicited as allies, the English now solicit in vain: instead of receiving bribes, bribes are now offered to petty rajahs to mediate for the English. And yet the authors of these calamities, most unaccountably and preposterously, continue perversely to pursue the same hostile iniquitous measures, and by every

possible means endeavour to incense the greater powers, and to cement the combinations already formed against the English Company and nation. These things frequently occupied my thoughts, and as often prompted me to communicate what I dreaded would be the consequence, in the hope, that through you, they might contribute to confirm the honourable stand made by your friends Messrs. F—— and W——, who, I believe, see matters through the same medium that I do.

THE return of Mr. George Gray to Madras, from an embassy with which he was charged to Hyder Alli Cawn, with a variety of other circumstances, do sufficiently prove, that a native compact, of a very general extent, is concluded under the auspices of four powerful states, the Marrattas, Hyder Alli Cawn, the Nizam of the Deccan, and Nudjiff Cawn, representing the Emperor and himself; that it is no longer meant to be concealed;

that persons of opposite and inveterate principles, have thus astonishingly drawn together, and linked the chain of union; that the destructive storm is gathering fast, and ready to burst on the heads of a devoted and devoted people, who are incapable of enjoying felicity with temper and moderation. However, the means perhaps might yet be found, in a speedy and judicious application from the supreme board to one or other of the chief conductors of public affairs in Poonah or Seringapatnam, to rescue the British reputation in Asia from perdition.

You have heard me often predict, that the game was lost irretrievably, unless the men and measures now in power in India were speedily and exemplarily changed; to shew to the natives, that neither the Court of Directors, nor the administrators of Britain, were the authors, or even abettors of the unwarranted proceedings of the Company's principal servants abroad. If that doth not happen quickly

ly

ly and effectually, Hyder will claim and obtain the observance of his late treaty with France; he will avail himself of the scattered state of the Company's troops, the reduction of the Nabob's army, and the impoverished state of his finances and country, to revenge the infraction of the treaty of 1769 in 1770, and the hostility commenced by the Company in 1766: and he will wreak his vengeance with redoubled fury on the Nabob, to whom he very properly imputes the whole of this conduct, equally unjust and unprovoked. This he never would have dared to attempt, if the Company's arms had not been engaged against the Marrattas, and had not the Marratta overtures to all the native states succeeded in forming the desired combination.

THE chief of this presidency has at length declared in council, his fixed purpose of withdrawing, as the means to save his life; the bilious attack being more frequent and more dangerous.—He

has a competent portion of enemies here, many of whom are so, not from principle, but disappointment, which they have not temper to conceal. If all that his foes impute to his ambition and avarice be true, he has judged wisely and politically in withdrawing; because, in the present distracted state of the British nation, his presence may be materially useful to secure his acquisitions, since it is more than probable, that a parliamentary disquisition may extend as well to the administration of Madras as that of Bengal; although the consequences and effects of the former are but as a mole-hill, compared to the mountain of enormities of the latter. Contrarily to every opinion which I have ever heard, I cannot but think that nature has been extremely liberal in endowing this chief with very powerful faculties; and that, if the charge of abuse in respect to the natives were not just, he had capacity and firmness to do a great deal of good. I have spoken with freedom and candour to his successor, recommending a line of conduct

conduct the most likely to co-operate with the views of your friends, consequently the true interests and security of the Company and the British nation; and as the means of removing any unjust suspicions that may have been entertained of himself, in carrying on an illegal trade with the French. He has determined not to improve his fortune, during the period of his power, by any means but by the strict legal emoluments of his station. Sir Hector Munro preserves his name and hands as immaculate and fair as you wish the person to do, for whom you entertain the most friendly sentiments. I have ventured to insinuate to him and Mr. Whitehill, that Hyder having confidence in Sir Hector's integrity, knowing that he does not pay court at the Chépauk Durbar, and knowing also, that Mr. W—— is not devoted to that palace, he will receive overtures for an accommodation and alliance through them, sooner than through any other; but that the ministerial plenipotentiary must be a person not known to

favour the Nabob ; and that the assistant and interpreter should be Morda-Kistna : That all these measures may be secretly recommended, as a necessary political manœuvre, to the old Nabob.—Forgive this dry subject ; it shews a desire to converse familiarly with you, even at a distance, and I cannot devise any other, though I know that it is one which you understand better than I do. Adieu.

P. S. Our day of departure is fixed for the 3d of April. I hope it will hold, for I am impatient to be gone.

I EMBARKED on the evening of the 3d of April at Madras ; and next day the fleet, consisting of four Indian men of war, the convoy of three line of battle ships, sailed for Europe.—The senior captain acting as commodore, under a distinguished pendant, seemed watchful of his charge ; but whether he was guided by his instructions or by wrong information, after having crossed the equator, he steered a course so far to the eastward of what

LETTER

and interpreter should be Moods-Kissas :
LETTER LXIX.

recommended, as a necessary political ma-
 To J—— M——, Esq; London.

verie familiarly with you, even at a
 distance, and I cannot devise any other
 Cape of Good Hope, Sept. 25, 1780.

I LEFT but two letters in Madras, to
 be forwarded over the isthmus of
 Suez to Europe, and one of them was for
 you.

I EMBARKED on the evening of the
 6th of April at Madras; and next day the
 fleet, consisting of four Indiamen under
 the convoy of three line of battle ships,
 sailed for Europe.—The senior captain
 acting as commodore, under a distinguish-
 ing pendant, seemed watchful of his
 charge; but whether he was guided by
 his instructions or by wrong information,
 after having crossed the equator, he steer-
 ed a course so far to the eastward of what
 experience

experience and common reason had established, that to this simple mistake all the procrastinations and loss of seamen during the rest of the passage is to be imputed*. The time wasted in regaining what we had thus lost, would have carried us into the Cape of Good Hope, and we should probably have avoided the storm which disabled the Rippon's main-mast. Instead of making, or at least approaching within ten or twenty leagues of the south side of the island of Roderigue (by some called Diego Rays) our erroneous course led us about five degrees to the south-east of it; so that before we made the island of Madagascar, the crew of the Asia man of war, who had been then about six years in constant service in Ame-

* There should be an understanding between the Admiralty and the Company, concerning the routes of convoys, both out and home; to be founded on the experience which the Company's navigators have had in these eastern seas, and contained in their private instructions from the Admiralty to their sea commanders going to preside in India.

rica, Europe, and Asia, were laid up, and dying fast, of the sea-scurvy, in spite of the judicious and humane exertions of Captain Vandeput to save them, by the use of his own fresh provisions and liquors, keeping the ship aired, freshening their water by air-pumps, and by every other act which his feelings as a man, and a strict observance of duty in his station, could dictate. Sir Thomas Rumbold was not wanting on his part, by sending bountiful supplies of wines, and fresh provisions from his own table, to them, from the ship in which he was passenger. When the fleet came to anchor in St. Augustin's bay on the 15th June, the Asia had not a sufficient strength to manage her sails; and the Rippon and Bellisle had near half their companies either dead or sick in their hammocks.

THE evening of the 13th, sailing along the south-end of Madagascar, we had a narrow escape from losing the fleet upon the *Star-bank*; but Captain Vandeput, by a fortunate

fortunate signal from the Asia, discovered the position in which we were, which at length, by good fortune, operated (though after eight at night) upon the commodore, to tack and stand upon the other course; the only ship that had not observed the *night* signal, although the windwardmost and the best-failing ship belonging to the Company, with a fixed steady gale, and with every possible exertion, was found to be in a critical situation the next morning, and required the exercise of skill and firmness in the seamanship, and trimming her sails. A few days thereafter, we were joined, in St. Augustin's bay, by four of the Company's homeward-bound China ships, and in a few days more by a fifth, which had sprung a leak. Those seamen belonging to his Majesty's ships, whose disorder had not already seized the vitals, soon recovered; the dry season, and refreshments, together with the assiduous attention of the captains and surgeons, produced rapid effects. Several little difficulties occurred in the negotiations

gociations with the king and the people, which might have been attended with manifest inconveniences hereafter; but the good sense and address of Captain Vandeput and Captain Blanket, easily removed every obstruction. These gentlemen, upon true political principles, did not limit their views to the present occasion; but always had in their eye the means of removing unfavourable impressions from the minds of the natives, in order to secure succours and good treatment to such British ships as should, singly or in fleets, hereafter have occasion to call for them.

AFTER much lingering, and wasting time, the fleet, now consisting of twelve large ships, took leave of Madagascar, to the inexpressible joy of all the passengers, on the 28th July, having been then six weeks at anchor in St. Augustin's bay. We proceeded with a fair wind, but were a good deal delayed by the slow sailing of the *Morse* and *Norfolk*, whose commanders endeavoured, by a pressed sail, to keep up, but they

they could not get to windward: Captain Elliot of the *Morse* shewed evident superiority in his profession, and confirmed his general reputation of an artist; but he was unfortunate in displaying his skill on a vessel which baffled his endeavours. Nor had he and the *Norfolk* fair play; for on the evening of the 4th August, they were a great distance to leeward, nor could they approach the fleet: the course and wind would have admitted of the fleet's bearing away one or two points towards them; but by some unaccountable conceit, at six o'clock in the dusk of the evening, without a signal being made, when those ships could not perceive the change, the commodore hauled his wind, and those who were near him did the same, thus enlarging the distance from the leeward ships, and destroying every probable hope of their joining the fleet again. Accordingly, they could not be seen from the top-gallant mast-head the next morning. The *Rippon* was ordered to back her course, to
look

look out for ships that must now have been many leagues to leeward of her, instead of steering to the south-west, the course in which they might have been intercepted, and reunited to the fleet. We made the land of Africa that evening, Cape Natal bearing north-west of us, distanced by little more than the width of Natal bay. — Here again we were thrown out of our right course by the false judgment, or fears, or perverseness of our conductor. It has of late years been well understood by experienced navigators, that there is less risk of encountering the storms peculiar to those seas, and that there is little danger of a lee-shore, by keeping the land of Africa close on board, from Cape Natal to the Cape of Good Hope ; and that a strong current setting to the south-west, generally favours navigation. But, unfortunately, without the preparative of a signal, on the evening of the 7th, the fleet stood out to sea, whereby the Asia, whose station it was to bring up the rear, did not perceive

perceive the motion, and by that means lost the fleet; but which the active prudence and vigilance of Captain Vandeput remedied, and happily joined the fleet the next evening. Although the commodore had been cautioned on this head, by all the commanders of the Company's ships, who even communicated their journals to him, yet he persevered in standing out to sea, until we entered into the tempestuous latitude; and on the 11th we encountered a very smart storm. The storm continuing, on the morning of the 13th we found ourselves under the protection of the Asia only; the Bellisle and Rippon, together with the Company's ship Talbot, being quite out of sight. And as the sea was more dreadful than the tempest, we were not without apprehensions for the Bellisle, as by her form she laboured exceedingly in the water, and some of her seams had been filled up with small hawsers. The storm abated on the 15th: on the 21st we were rejoined by the Morse and Norfolk: on the 23d we were also rejoined by the Rippon, carrying

carrying all the sail she could on the mizen and fore-masts, having sprung her main-mast in the storm : and the next day made Cape la Guilla's, and coasted it, until we were joined, on the 25th, by the Bellisle and Talbot, under Penguin island, at the entrance of Table bay, where we anchored in the course of that night and next morning.

THE well-timed and judiciously applied address, and superior good sense of Captain Vandeput and Captain Blanket, extricated the King's ships and the Company's, from difficulties into which the conduct of the commodore had precipitated them ; having indispensable occasion for masts, spars, iron-work, cordage, and provisions, to qualify them for the remaining part of the voyage.

CONTRARILY to the uniform usage of all admirals, commodores, and captains of the British navy, touching for refreshment at the Cape of Good Hope, since

the commencement of the English trade to India, although their instructions were silent upon the subject, Captain Barber declined to salute the citadel, where the colours of the Seven United Provinces were flying; he declined to pay a complimentary visit to the governor; demanded supplies in a peremptory stile, menacing to obtain them by force, if not freely granted; refused obedience to the revenue laws of the country, in the examination of packages landed from his own ship; made his demands by writing in the English language, and refused to receive the answer, because the direction of a letter, bearing the Dutch East India Company's armorial impresson, was in the language of the people, the Dutch, and returned it unopened to the council-board whence it was sent, actually granting the supplies he had desired; and he burnt a protest which was officially delivered to him, without reading it. Even the *private* mediation of Captain Vandeput and Captain Blanket, doth not take away from the merit which the governor

vernor and council have displayed in the great portion of moderation and consideration shewn, in accommodating both the King's ships and the Company's with every necessary which they had occasion for, notwithstanding the public and private insults which had been lavished upon them. Nor did their condescension appear to have proceeded from motives of fear, as their conduct throughout was spirited, steady, and just, and wisely and generously applying the measure to *the man*, and not the country which he represented by mere chance, not choice.

THE discontents which prevailed at the Cape, between the people and the government, when I was here before, I found, on my return, had broke out into disaffection, and a refractoriness bordering on hostilities. The people, suffering under the iniquitous and relentless oppression of the Company's government and tyranny, solicited redress by representations, and by

deputies, in vain ; and at length openly deputed some of the principal persons to lay the enormities and exactions open to the States General, for redress ; and to be enfranchised from the servitude extorted by the Company's government.

AFTER unnecessary procrastinations, neglects, and delays, the signal for weighing at last was displayed on board the *Bellisle*, on the 12th October ; and the fleet having been joined at the Cape by the Company's ship the *Ceres*, sailed that day out of Table bay, with a fair steady gale ; and arrived at St. Helena on the 29th October, where we found the *Hannibal*, Captain Caldwell, of fifty guns, and the *Prothée*, Captain Buckner, of sixty-four guns, and the Company's ship *Hawke*, from Bombay.—The accompanying letter will furnish you with my observations on the island and natives of Madagascar.

LETTER

LETTER LXX.

To J— M—, Esq. London.

Cape of Good Hope, Oct. 1, 1780.

THE Island of Madagascar needs no description, as it is well known to have been esteemed the second largest island in the world, before the discoveries made by the late able and ingenious navigator Captain Cooke, that New Holland, &c. were islands. It lies under the latitude of 12° to 26° South, and between the 43° and 51° longitude, East from London.

THE force of prejudice, even when founded upon the fabulous conceptions of illiterate and incurious seamen; and for the most part upon the catch-penny voyages and sufferings, hatched in the brain of a garret composer, of pirates and buccaneers, have overcome reason and justice,

in imputing to the *aborigine* inhabitants of countries remote from Europe, ferociousness, barbarity, ignorance, stupidity, irreligion, and a complication of immoralities. These ideas are in truth rank and unjust prejudices. The opposite qualities belong more naturally to most of the remote nations, which are, by Europeans denominated savage.—The natives of Madagascar, and the Hottentots of the Cape of Good Hope, have been considered as possessing no one quality to distinguish them, except in figure and articulation, from the brute creation; and those of Madagascar as ferocious tygers.

THE French are the only nation of Europe, who have attempted to make establishments on the island of Madagascar. They set out on their East-India system by attempting it; but after several years indefatigable perseverance and expence, the climate aided the steady resistance of the natives to destroy many thousand French subjects, and they gave up the contest.

About

About the year 1770, Count Benowski, a Polish nobleman, of a bold and enterprising genius, having escaped from the exile to which he was sent by the Empress of Russia to Siberia, travelled thence to Kamscatcka, and there built a kind of vessel, in which he committed himself, and a few desperate companions, steering along the coast until they arrived at Canton river in China, whence he took a passage to the French islands; and informed himself of many particulars relative to the natives &c. of Madagascar; and, following the natural bent of his own eccentric disposition for atchievement and enterprize, when he came to France, he laid a plan before government, for reviving the idea of an establishment in Madagascar. He was attended to; and was empowered to raise a regiment to consist of 300 men, composed of all European nations and religions, and to be uniformed and accoutred according to his own mind. He chose the Russian livery, green, and the same kind of arms. He completed his

corps, was transported to Mauritius, and thence embarked for Fort Dauphin in Madagascar, to the command of the garrison and settlement; having prevailed on a considerable number of civil settlers to follow his fortunes. He treated with the natives, who consented to the forming of a settlement at a bay near the sea side, but proscribed his intrusions into the country. He had a stockaded fort and garrison built, and huts to lodge his people, stores, and provisions in. The inhabitants never molested him while he kept within the limits they had set to his dominion, and to the letter of their treaty. But the Count wanting to make roads into the country, they immediately opposed his progress, and hostilities commenced. This establishment having been injudiciously formed on a low marshy ground, or near it, his troops and settlers were dying fast; discontents and murmurs sprung up among themselves; complaints were sent to Mauritius, the supreme government; bickerings arose between the supreme chiefs of the islands

islands and him; an appeal was made to the Court of Paris; and leave was given to the Count to come home. When he arrived in France, his conduct was disapproved; and altho' he was not professedly dismissed from the service and stations he held, his reception and treatment were tantamount thereto. It is said, that he has had address since to recommend himself into a respectable military station in the service of the Emperor of Germany. In October 1778, there were but four officers remaining in the island, and three under confinement for military offences; and about fifty privates and non-commissioned officers. All the settlers were dead.—Thus ended the establishment, and the natives were inveterately hostile, even to private traders from the islands; a circumstance very injurious, as they were supplied with rice and horned cattle, on reasonable terms, and in abundance, from St. Mary's, Foul-point, and St. Antongil, large bays, which are opposite to the islands. The run down from Bourbon or Mauritius, to either of these places,

places, is from two to five days; but the return is more tedious, by reason of the trade wind and currents, which oblige them to stretch far to the northward or southward, to be able to fetch the islands.

Our fleet anchored in Augustine Bay on the 14th and 15th of June. The natives soon came on board, and began a traffic with a judgment matured by experience. Their ingenuity is far below the medium in every mechanical art; but they are sufficiently knowing in bartering: fine bullocks as any in the world, sheep, goats, dunghill fowls, Guinea fowls, milk, and such vegetables as they raise in the proper seasons; for powder, balls, flints, muskets, and spirituous liquors, which are the staple of their commerce. On the N. N. E. and S. S. E. sides, they cultivate great quantities of an excellent rice, and have plantains, yams, limes, lemons, oranges, tamarinds, &c. in plenty. The largest and clearest crystals of rock-salt in the world, are in the bowels of the earth

in this island. Their bays abound with fish, excellent in their kinds, together with most sorts of shell-fish upon and under the rocks, and on the rivers. There is a wide field in the woods of this country, for naturalists to display their faculties upon. The island is divided, it is said by the inhabitants, into seven distinct kingdoms, each governed by its own king, who enjoys his authority and title by inheritance. These princes commit hostilities in proper form; but it consists in plundering and carrying off the horned cattle, and the prisoners are sold to the French and Dutch traders as slaves. The men are of the middle size, clean made, agile, and active; they are bold and brave to a high degree, not able to brook an insult, even from the highest superior, which is not instantly resented, either with the musket or the lance. They are dexterous at throwing the lance; it is with a dart of the lance, from a considerable distance, that they kill their bullocks, which produces the most instantaneous death I
ever

ever beheld; the dart enters near the shoulder, and the beast drops down in a moment. They are fond of spirituous liquors, and are apt to be riotous when drunk. They are a steady, judicious, penetrating people, and jealous of liberty; but in general they are not faithful to their engagements, so that it will be imprudent to advance before-hand, unless it be the usual presents to the king, and other chiefs. They prostitute their women to strangers, and often impose inferior ones as princesses, to enhance the premium. But the French on the East side, engage with the chiefs and princes for their daughters, by a weekly or monthly contract, during which time, they are not only diligent and attentive in preparing food, and in the household affairs, but faithful in preventing any harm to them, or impositions in their dealings with other natives. They are much troubled with the venereal distemper, which doubtless was introduced by Europeans; but they have found a perfect and easy cure by
simples.

simples. For the most part they appear to be descendant of the Caffrés on the south-east of Africa, by their woolly hair, features, and complexions. There is a tract of country in the north-west quarter, the inhabitants of which are descended from the Arabs; and although that nation is almost continually at war with some of its neighbours, it is more than probable that their connection has extended to render the features of many less flat; but it is remarkable, that notwithstanding the frequent intercourse of their women with Europeans, I never saw a Mulatto or Mestiff upon, or from Madagascar. I suspect that such progeny are not suffered to exist, from a political jealousy.

I NEVER could learn that there are any wild ferocious beasts in this island. There are alligators in all the rivers. They have a great many dogs and wild hogs. There are several species of wild ducks and geese in the island, which are not to be met with elsewhere; they are large and
9 beautiful.

beautiful.—I do not think that it is necessary to wish for an European establishment on this island ; because, by establishing prudent regulations, to be obligatory on the captains of ships, every want may be supplied, at a price and in a manner infinitely more easy and desirable than if an European settlement was made upon it. Garden vegetables, such as cabbages, turnips, carrots, and the like, is all that they have not to supply ; and a little pains would bring them into the practice of raising these also. Good treatment, and a strict observance of engagements on the part of Europeans, would soon inspire the natives with a similar disposition and conduct.

As I had been reduced to the lowest state, and confined to my cabin for six weeks, by a bilious complaint, and incapable of digesting any solid food, I had every reason to apprehend, that I should leave my bones at Madagascar.—I found, however, a speedy and effectual remedy on
this

this island: A stream of mineral water issues, at low water, out of a solid rock in the bay of St. Augustine, about one hundred yards north of the Tent Rock: at first, it produces a kind of dizziness like Bath water; but in less than a week, it effectually removed all bilious obstructions. I used it all the way to the Cape of Good Hope, with continued effect: with a vigorous appetite I could dine upon the steak of a bullock that had been killed that same morning, without feeling any inconveniences from indigestion.—Beeves are excellent, weighing from five to eight hundred weight each, and the meat delicate, tender, and well-flavoured. Their sheep have broad tails, like those of Africa, and are as large.—The hospitality of this people, is a mark of their humane disposition. A young gentleman went ashore with one of them, the day after our arrival, in the canoe of the natives; but the evening-breeze and the strong current of the tide, preventing their return, the man conducted him to his house. One of the princes
of

of the country, and a guardian to the minor king of Baba, visited the stranger, and supped with them, inviting him to his own house: a Guinea fowl was killed, and dressed after their manner, for his supper: the host and his wife lay upon the ground, and the stranger was made to sleep upon their own bed. We met with various other instances of a natural hospitality. And it was easily perceived, that they could distinguish between persons who deserved respect, from those who did not, in their conduct, and selection of the captains of the men of war from each other.

LETTER

LETTER LXXI.

To J—— M——, Esq; London.

St. Helena, Nov. 5, 1780.

YOU will be so unreasonable, I suppose, as to require a description of a place, which the unjust partiality of persons in the East India Company's service, have represented as a perfect paradise. — On general topics, I would be ready to yield to the opinions of the multitude ; but upon this occasion, satisfied and confirmed in the propriety of my own sentiments, I cannot subscribe to representations which are contradicted by all human faculties, and by common sense.

THE island of St. Helena, which appears to have arisen above the surface of the great Atlantic ocean, by an eruption,
VOL. II. D d tion,

tion, or convulsion of nature, in the latitude of 16 degrees south, and 6 of west longitude from London, is composed of one entire rock of a circular figure, and measures about twenty-four miles in circumference. That the whole island has undergone a conflagration, is beyond a doubt; the interior mass of solid rock shews, that it has yielded to the force of fire, and has been dissolved; in which waving figure, after the fire was extinguished, the horizontal veins or strata remained hardened, as glass, when on the verge of becoming liquid, bends by heat to its own weight, and retains that form if the fire is withdrawn, and even loses its lucid quality. The parts nearest the surface resemble the ordinary lava emitted from volcanos; the strata of mould or loam, which were burnt to ashes, in many places retain the original appearance and colour of ashes; and those of clay retain their stations with the firmness of burnt bricks in the first or second strata. The eminences, if placed upon a continent or large

large island, would bear the name of hills; but upon so circumscribed a base as St. Helena, they claim that of mountains. There is scarce a flat of a dozen acres in the island; and for the most part, it has been difficult to find a plain extensive enough to build a house and offices upon. The thin surface or soil upon the rocks, is loose and light; but of a kind and vegetative quality, if blest with seasonable showers, and aided with a little manure, of which they have plenty upon the island in a very rich marle, both white and blue: I do not find that the inhabitants have discovered the use of it; I perceived it on the high road, and put two pieces in my pocket, to examine the quality on my return to town; and when I mentioned its excellence, it did seem as if they understood me not. There is now but one spring remaining, from which ships can be supplied with water; and even that is so insignificant, that they are obliged to collect a body of the water in a large reservoir, to await the arrival of the Com-

pany's ships. There are but two places where it is possible to land; they are at opposite sides of the island, and both are most powerfully fortified; that to windward is too dangerous a navigation to be hazarded by any ships; and the other to leeward, which is at the metropolis, would prove a dangerous undertaking, not only from a number of batteries most judiciously and skilfully arranged, but from the difficulty of securing anchorage upon the bank, which is narrow, and near to the shore; because the current being strong, if the anchor is dropt upon or near the edge of it, the ship will drive, and fall to leeward in an instant, so as to render it a laborious and tedious business to regain the island.—Exclusive of the inhabitants, which, comprehending all sexes, ages, and complexions, may be two thousand four hundred (chiefly slaves) there are from five to six hundred regular troops, maintained by the Company; and as they even send, in the annual store-ship, most of the necessaries of life from Europe,

rope,

rope, if they are not brought at the Company's expence from India, China, and the Cape, its annual charges, for several years last past, may be computed, on an average, at thirty thousand pounds; while at the same time it yields no benefit to the Company, or to their navigation, except as a place of rendezvous. Of late years, the island has been so subject to continual droughts, that it has not been able to yield any refreshing succours to the shipping; even the water is become scanty. The cattle have perished of famine, and the gardens scarcely produce vegetable food for the inhabitants. In short, it cannot ever be an object of conquest for the enemies of Britain, unless in a war with Holland. The temporary conquest of it by the Dutch would distress the British commerce. And if the troops and people of St. Helena were situated upon any fertile spot upon the continent, the Company's ships would benefit by the change, and the settlers would enjoy the sweets of their industry. I cannot but imagine, that by explosions

with powder, undermining the rocks where the main spring rises, the concussion would probably divert the current of the water, and in that case, the island would not be habitable. At present, it appears to be a useless incumbrance to the Company, and a perpetual prison, threatening lingering death by famine to the inhabitants.

I EMBARKED last evening, and the signal for weighing is now hoisted.

LETTER

LETTER LXXII.

To J—— M——, Esq: London.

Dublin, Jan. 29, 1781.

I TOOK leave of you on the 5th November, in the road of St. Helena, with the signal for sailing displayed on board his Majesty's ship Bellisle, with eleven of the Company's ships, escorted by five capital ships of war.

To give you a comprehensive idea of the whole passage, without descending to particulars, as a passenger, it may be deemed sufficient for me to say, that *chance*, not *conduct*, hath brought this valuable fleet in safety to a British port. It is the duty of the Company's immediate servants to lay their journals, together with their opinions, before their

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employers,

employers, not with a view of remedying the past, but to guard against future error and misconduct.

ON the 12th day of November, we sailed close to the island, or rather the cinder mountain, of Ascension, so famous for the salutary refreshment it affords in the proper season, to voyagers, by an abundance of turtle, which are esteemed superior in flavour and size to any others, and for the quantities of fish and birds which it furnishes in profusion. It yields no other supply ; for want of soil, it is incapable of throwing up grass ; nor is there any stream of water upon it that I know of, although I have been informed by a French gentleman, that at a considerable distance inland from the common landing-bay, he saw a very pretty spring, whence a stream of pure water flowed.

WE were fortunate in carrying a fair wind along with us into soundings, near the entrance of the English channel, on
the

the sixth day of the present year. But alas ! a succeeding calm terminated in a contrary wind on the same evening, which induced us to direct our course for Ireland, without any effort to stretch into the channel. By mistaking even this plain course, although the wind was favourable for any port in Ireland, we steered so wide of the right mark, that the next morning we could not stand up for the Shannon, nor for Corke ; but pushed in to the little harbour of Crookhaven, near Cape Clear, upon the 7th instant.—Thus I arrived in the British dominions, after suffering the severities of three winters in one year ; one in January in Bengal ; another after crossing the line, in August, at the Cape of Good Hope ; and a third in December last, after recrossing the line, at the entrance of the channel.

THE hospitality of the gentlemen of this nation having long been proverbial, I anticipated the pleasures which, in my hurried excursion, I was to enjoy ; but
description

description hath fallen short of the hospitality, liberality, and humanity, to which I can *now* bear testimony. I enjoyed a happy introduction to that uncommon civility, characteristic of the people of condition in Ireland, by means of the favourable opinion, and virtuous confidence, of two amiable fellow-passengers, who had entrusted to my endeavours on this journey, a charge, in the care of themselves and their children. The genteel appearance and deportment of both, and the superior sense, address, and conversation of one, would have proved irresistible inducements, in a country less distinguished for polite assiduity to oblige the fair sex than this, to bestow on these ladies every mark of respect and attention; but it would be unjust to insinuate even this consideration, as a motive for actions which, I am sure, originated in nature.

HAVING less influence to procure a boat to Crookhaven, than the smallness of the village and the numbers to be accommodated

accommodated in it, rendered necessary ; it was late before a country conveyance did me that favour at the price of a dollar. After diving into several mean houses, chance directed my steps to the second house in the place. Sir T. R. having been the first to land, secured the best quarters for himself and family, with the surveyor of the customs. I made my wishes known to the wife of the deputy surveyor, whose husband was absent on custom-house service in Corke. She consented to accommodate myself and an old gentleman, but declared against ladies, who (she said) were not to be pleased : I assured her, that the ladies which I would have the honour to introduce into her house, were so amiable and affable, that they would compel her to change her opinion of her own sex. She, however, persisted in her negative. The clergyman of the village, who boarded and lodged in the house, a truly good man, being present, with his landlady's daughter, I made

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my addressees alternately to the daughter and mother, and attacked the reverend old clergyman, in a style adapted to his holy function, and interested both his feelings and the self-importance of the daughter in my suit; until, after long pleadings and rejoinders, the good lady agreed to receive my fair fellow-passengers:—and in a few days, she did them the justice to tell me repeatedly, that she never again would judge so injuriously of strangers, because her present lodgers were too good, even better than I had represented them. The honest clergyman, who was as full of goodness as he was of learning, was also full of expressions of esteem and satisfaction; and took leave with the tenderest respect, when a chaise arrived from Corke, on the 14th, at the opposite side of the bay, to receive the two ladies and their four children.

My mistaken liberality to the postillion, was productive of serious alarms, and might have terminated in a melancholy catastrophe.

catastrophe.—He had neglected his horses, but not himself; for, being overcome with liquor, he was incapable of conducting them. There were many steep passes in the first stage, and the first one led by a precipice which hung suspended, many paces perpendicularly, over the sea. When he came to this spot, the famished, fatigued horses, were unable to draw the carriage, and the postillion, under the influence of liquor, instead of coaxing them up, beat and pushed them, until, in the very middle of the bank, they gave way. Apprehensive of danger, I rode close behind the carriage, when happily, on the turn of the off-wheel, it was stopt by the hind-quarter of my horse; I seized the other wheel with my hand, and by chance dexterity, not strength, gave it a turn which gave a footing to the carriage, and ease to the yielding horses; and by that means, the whole were saved from precipitating into the sea. I held my horse to sustain the wheel, and the weight of the carriage, until

until I could alight, and was able to lodge a pretty large stone under each wheel, and then, letting go my horse, I run to the upper side of the chaise, and, without much ceremony, pulled out the affrighted ladies and the four children. Thus secure and happy, I took out the restiff horse, and without the use of a whip, coaxed one horse only to pull up the empty chaise.—After a short respite, the ladies and children resumed their stations in the carriage; but had not gone far, when the drunken postillion again run the chaise into a deep gutter on the side of an eminence, and nearly overset it. — After disengaging my companions a second time, and calling the aid of about a score of country peasants, we again got to a level road.—The ladies entreated me to return, and I urged to pass on, because we were near to the house of the reverend Dr. Townsend, where I would venture to introduce them, though I had only had the pleasure of being once in his company.

pany. After walking until they were out of breath, I prevailed on them to go into the chaise; but upon condition that I should not separate myself from its side; the drunken postillion having positively refused to let me drive the chaise, and to ride my horse. In this position we encountered a private chaise and four horses.—I was determined to accost those who were in it, for relief to my fellow-travellers, when happily I beheld the worthy old gentleman, Dr. Townsend. I went up to him, and without ceremony, after felicitating my company, I told him my situation. He threatened our postillion in his magisterial capacity; and upon express condition that we should go to his house and pass the night, he detached his principal servant and best pair of horses from his own chaise, harnessed them to ours, requested a gentleman (Mr. Jermyn of Millbourn) to conduct us to his house, and introduce us to his lady, promising to follow us in half an hour; thus conferring a twofold obligation on

on us, so as we should not feel the weight of either. My amiable fellow-travellers, with uplifted eyes and hands, enjoyed the sweet relief, and blest the liberal and hospitable mind of the Doctor, and his brother, a commissioner of the customs, who accompanied him in the chaise, and who shewed an equal desire to accommodate us. We arrived at the Doctor's house, and were first received by a most agreeable young gentleman, Mr. Robertson, the Doctor's nephew, who was also in orders. An excellent cold dinner, and choice liquors, were set before us, together with a chearful fire, and a bountiful welcome.— Mrs. Townsend soon appeared; and although infirm, discovered a genteel mien and conversation, and was a just representation of an hospitable and social husband. The Doctor and his niece returned within the promised time, and three hearty genteel neighbours soon joined us. After an elegant supper, a chearful glass, and the effence of jollity, at two o'clock in the morning we separated into our respective

spective apartments ; and after breakfast next morning, we parted from a family whose goodness will ever remain imprinted on our minds.—I enjoyed the praises that had been liberally bestowed on my fair fellow-travellers, by every person.

WE experienced the most polite hospitality at Skibberton, from Mr. Jermyn, where Mrs. Wright (the collector's lady, and the sister of Dr. Townsend) came in person to Mr. Jermyn's, to invite us to her house. We proceeded, without further interruption, except from the officers of excise, to Corke.—There the mayor, Mr. Carleton, and his lady and nephew, shewed us every mark of attention. The second day we proceeded on our journey for Dublin, young Mr. Carleton having previously written to his house, to have lodgings ready for our reception.

IT was a pleasing surprise to me, to find throughout the road, accommodations and entertainment which would be thought respectable on the principal roads of Eng-

land. The country appeared destitute of that cultivation which distinguishes the regions of freedom. Although it is, for the most part, of a turfy or peat quality, yet it is capable of high improvement, particularly by draining; and I doubt not, but a few years, under the happy state of freedom which they now enjoy, and which they should have had long before, will exhibit the happy effects of this blessing, by adding largely to the wealth, commerce, power, and population of the British nation. Then we shall see displayed the transcendent virtues which are inseparable from political liberty: the civilization, industry, and ingenuity of the common people, who are as yet more rude and imposing, than any Indian, American, or African nation I have ever had occasion to see; and a flourishing change on the face of a country, capable of receiving every improvement which husbandry, arts, and canals can produce. A very distinguishing proof of this opinion occurred upon the road. The

evening of the second day after our departure from Corke, I was all at once so sensibly struck with the inclosures by walls, fences, and ditches, the substantial neat farm-houses and offices, and the less indigent garbs, and diffusive contentment which appeared in the people, that I observed to Mrs. M——t, the lady in whose company I had then the honour to sit, that the proprietor of the lands over which we were travelling, was a munificent and good landlord; and that, if I could suppose that *Lord Cabir* possessed any part of that county or province, I should, from the high commendations which I had heard of that great and generous nobleman's conduct, as a subject, as a master, and as a man, conclude that we were at that instant travelling through his estate. We entered a town very soon thereafter, where plenty and tranquillity were signalized in every object which presented itself to our view. We stopt to breathe the horses at a handsome inn; I called for some cakes for the children,

dren, which were brought by a handsome, genteel, well-dressed landlady: I asked the name of the place? She said, "*Cahir*." I asked to whom the surrounding estate belonged? "*To Lord Cahir*."—My fair, sensible companion, after expressing a surprise, repeated what I had said about an hour before. The landlady poured forth his Lordship's praise in the gross. As I had had the honour of being a little known to his Lordship, and his brother, Mr. T. Buttler, I begged the landlady to deliver a message to his Lordship, concerning a relation in the East: she said she would; but that my Lord would be very glad to see me, or any lady or gentleman who was travelling. I had always admired the exalted character which my Lord Cahir was eminent for in England, and in France; but I was at this time impressed with sentiments of veneration for him, and only lamented that he was not so young, as to give hopes of his living as an example to others, for the benefit and happiness of all, for fifty years to come.

THE

THE partiality of a worthy friend having introduced me handsomely to Mr. Longfield, the member for the city of Corke, whose mind is as independent and unincumbered as his fortune, as well as to the Mayor of that city; and having had the honour of being formerly known to Lord Carhampton, Sir John Blaquiere, and Sir Richard Heron; the only cause of regret I could possibly have in Dublin, was, that I could not pass six or eight weeks in it. The just and independent principles of Mr. Longfield, and the liberal use to which he applied a clear annual revenue, exceeding 10,000 l. procured him a choice of constituents and of friends.

It was pleasing to hear the great orators and geniuses of this nation, speak the true language of pure patriotism, with arguments and energy which are irresistible, and which carry conviction to every heart. It was not the inflammatory language of men soured by disappointment. It was not an effort to remove those *who were in*,

in order to succeed to their places; they were the glowing expressions which issued from the unaffected feelings of patriotic virtue. It is a pleasure to look forward to the field that is opening to receive the improvement and ingenuity of the most learned men, and the greatest geniuses in Europe. It is not to benefit Ireland only that these senators stand forth: in every word which they utter, in their martial garbs, and in their voluntary associations, they breathe true loyalty to the extended British empire.— They are jealous of honor, and out of the way of corruption. To render them as useful as they are disposed to be, they should receive impartial and unbounded confidence; and they never will betray it. The public buildings, the private houses, the new streets, the squares, the finishings, the furniture, and the entertainments in Dublin, are elegantly modern. Our obligations to the family of Mr. Carleton of Corke, cannot be described; civilities were heaped upon us by his nephews, niece, and

and sister-in-law, in Dublin; and they afforded me an opportunity of being acquainted with his son, Mr. Carleton, the solicitor-general of Ireland. But to particularize the proofs of kindness we received among a people justly celebrated for their hospitality, though not an unpleasing, were an endless task. As I am to embark in the packet at one o'clock in the morning, I shall bid you adieu, until we meet in London about a week hence.

APPENDIX [A.]

THE original stock of the Dutch East-India Company consisted of 2100 shares, at 3000 florins* each: they afterwards encreased the number of shares to 2130, without advancing the stock proportionably; so that the original stock of 6,300,000, florins divided into 2130 shares, valuing each share at 3000 florins, increases the estimation of the capital to 6,390,000 florins. Their singular good fortune in stepping, without loss or expence, into all the Portuguese settlements and fortifications in Asia, except Goa and Damain; the rich prizes made of Portuguese ships; the justice rendered by their agents abroad to their constituents at home; and the enormous advantages arising from their unconscionable oppressive treaties with the princes of Java and Ceylon, together with the superior influence which the intire property of cinnamon, cloves, mace, nutmegs, and two-third parts of the pepper trade of India, have indispensably yielded to them in Asia, at one time raised the value of their stock to 650 per cent. thus encreasing their capital of 6,300,000 to 40,950,000 florins. From this mag-

* Each florin of Holland, according to the par of silver, is worth 22d. sterling nearly—but the course of exchange varies according to the fluctuations of trade, &c.

nitide,

nitude, avarice, and an ill-judged severity exercised over their allies or dependants, and a false parade of dignity in Batavia, &c. exceeding that of any crowned head in Europe, have reduced their stock from 340 to 355 per cent. A still delusive and pernicious estimation, which, by dividing the principal instead of the profits, together with various other concurring circumstances, must, at length, lay them prostrate, as bankrupts and delinquents, at the feet of the States General; who will then be as little capable of sustaining them, as of upholding their own credit.

Each florin of Holland, according to the par of silver, is worth 2s. sterling nearly—but the course of exchange according to the fluctuations of trade, &c.

The

APPENDIX [A.]

The benefit arising from the sale of cloves, cinnamon, mace, nutmeg, and pepper, will appear from the following distinct calculation, viz.

	lb. wt.	Florins.	Sale in India.	lb. wt.	Florins.	S. in Europe.	Gen. Sale.
They sell Cloves in India	150,030	at 5 : 0	750,000	in Europe.	350,000	at 5 : 0	1,750,000
Nutmegs in d ^o	100,000	at 2 : 16	280,000		250,000	at 3 : 15	937,500
Mace in d ^o	10,000	at 6 : 08	64,000		100,000	at 6 : 8	640,000
Cinnamon in d ^o	200,000	at 5 : 5	1,050,000		400,000	at 5 : 6	2,100,000
Pepper in d ^o	3,500,000	at 30 perct.	1,050,000		5,000,000	at 50 perct.	2,500,000
			f. 3,194,000			f. 7,927,500	f. 11,121,500

Current Guilders of Holland

Equal in British money to 299,437 l. 10s. in India; and in Europe to 743,223 l. 19s. 2d.; making the general

sale to amount to 1,042,661 l. 9s. 2d. From bad cinnamon they extract a rich oil, which they either sell to great account, or by presents, answer all the purposes of money in their political engagements with native princes.

It is computed, that as the following are the average costs of these spiceries, the profits annexed to each species, arise to the Company from the sale, viz.

APPENDIX [A]

Quantity.	Cost & Charges.	Gr. Cost.	Profit.	Where produced.
lb. wt.	Florins.	Florins.	Florins.	
Cloves	at 2 3 per lb.	1,075,000	1,425,000	Amboyna.
Nutmegs	at 1 5 d°	437,500	780,000	} Banda Isles.
Mace	at 2 14 d°	297,000	407,000	
Cinnamon	at 0 6 d°	180,000	2,970,000	Ceylon.
Pepper	at 0 18 per cent.	1,530,000	2,020,000	Java chiefly.
		f. 4,219,500	f. 5,502,000	

By this calculation it appears, that the gross sale of spiceries doth amount annually to	—	f. 11,121,500 or Sterl. 1,042,661	£. 5. 9. 2
That of these they sell or barter in India, by reason of which they have the exclusive power of influencing markets	—	f. 3,194,000	299,437 10 —
That the rest is sold in Europe, and becomes almost a clear remittance, and nearly a clear balance against the other European nations who consume it	—	f. 7,927,500	743,223 19 00
That the first cost and charges, paid generally in merchandize, are	—	f. 4,219,500	395,578 2 6
That consequently there is a gain, exclusive of the gain on the merchandize bartered for them, of	—	f. 5,502,000	515,812 10 —

* It is supposed that Ceylon yields a million pounds of cinnamon annually; and as the half only is sold, the rest is destroyed, in order to keep up the price.

Let any minister of a commercial nation, revolve this recapitulated view of the Dutch East India Company's trade in his mind, and draw all the conclusions which such a manufacturing nation as Britain, would derive from it, and it will furnish an extensive field for political speculation.

It is not only presumable, but certain, that the merchandize given in barter for many, or all of these goods, has borne a considerable profit; and that the other commodities extorted under value from the people of Ceylon and Java, and resold to very great advantage in India, will render the remittance in spices to Europe the only gain and clear remittance belonging to the Company; or that the establishments necessary (according to the Dutch system) to command the monopoly of these commodities in Amboyna, Banda, Java, and Ceylon, being deducted out of this remittance of 7,927,500 florins, the surplus will be equal to all the other exorbitant charges appertaining to their settlements, leaving a balance of 3,500,000 florins, which is a high estimation of the annual profits of the Company.

The Company's capital in India, &c. comprehending their shipping, goods, good and bad debts, provisions, ordnance, all kinds of war-like stores and ammunition, plate, and cattle, exclusive of territorial properties, are computed not to exceed — — —

£. 47,000,000

They The established prime value of 2130 shares of the Company's stock, at 3000 florins each, being 6,390,000, bearing a proportion of 5.211.5.44.

Brought over 47,000,000

They owe in Europe

11,250,000, which
doubtless bears an in-
terest of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

per annum, or

f. 393,750

They owe in Asia

7,000,000, where the
interest is seldom un-
der 10 per cent. per

ann.; or, these two

principal debts added

make

f. 700,000

18,250,000

28,750,000

The surplus 28,750,000,

being a real advance

out of the original

gains of the Com-

pany, will bear 8l.

13s. 5d. per cent.

f. 2,406,250l.

The annual gross profit,

by estimation

f. 3,500,000

Of this surplus (28,750,000) it is

presumable, and indeed confi-

dently believed, that bad and

doubtful debts and dead effects

will consume

f. 15,250,000

The real commercial or moveable

effects of the Company will there-

fore be

f. 13,500,000

The established prime value of 2130 shares of

the Company's stock, at 3000 florins each, being

6,390,000, bearing a proportion of f. 211: 5s. 4d.

per

per cent. to their real commercial or moveable capital of 13,500,000 florins, which is *f.* 138. 14*s.* 8*d.* short of its current value, at *f.* 350 per cent. according to which they divide; it is therefore evident, that even without reserving prudential allowances for casual losses and charges, wars, &c. they are injudiciously dividing a *fixed* proportion of their capital annually, as a real, although in fact an imaginary and delusive profit. As the stocks of public companies rise in their prices, in exact proportion to the interest that is divided, or in proportion to the equal increase of capital and interest; and as, in every country, the use of money bears a certain fixed value, in proportion to the reputation of the security; if therefore the Dutch East India stock be estimated at *f.* 138. 14*s.* 8*d.* per cent. more than the intrinsic value of their capital, it must follow, that excessive dividends alone originated, and have supported that false, or nominal value; and consequently, that they have been in the base practice of dividing as a profit, from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 per cent. annually, out of the real capital. A conduct, which, by a progressive calculation, will consume the entire capital in about fourteen or fifteen years, without the aid of a variety of other evils and enormities, which hasten that event, as well as the annihilation of the Company.

The 23,000,000 florins, said by themselves to have been expended in the establishment of the Cape of Good Hope, of which *f.* 10,000,000 may moderately be stated as an irretrievable loss; the *f.* 15,250,000 of doubtful and bad debts, and dead effects; and the over-rating of their capital, X above its true estimation, *f.* 2,475,000 (making together *f.* 27,725,000) added to the real commercial

mercantile and moveable capital, £. 13,500,000, fully accounts for the former rise of their original capital to 650 per cent. and at the same instant avows, that in proportions considerably less offensive, than those which have either enhanced their expences, or reduced their profits, their destruction is inevitable, *if they do not wisely and speedily adopt the only rational means of evading it.*

fact an imaginary and delusive profit. As the stocks of public companies rise in their prices, in exact proportion to the interest that is divided, or in proportion to the equal increase of capital and interest; and as, in every country, the rise of money bears a certain fixed value, in proportion to the reputation of the security; it therefore the Dutch East India stock be estimated at £. 138, 14s. 8d. per cent. more than the intrinsic value of their capital, it must follow, that excessive dividends alone originated, and have supported that fall, or nominal value; and consequently, that they have been in the late practice of dividing as a profit, from 4 to 5 per cent. annually, out of the real capital. A conduct, which, by a progressive calculation, will consume the entire capital in about fourteen or fifteen years, without the aid of a variety of other evils and enormities, which hasten that event, as well as the annihilation of the Company.

The 23,000,000 Rixins laid by themselves to have been expended in the establishment of the Cape of Good Hope, of which £. 10,000,000 may moderately be stated as an irretrievable loss; the £. 12,500,000 of doubtful and bad debts, and dead effects; and the over-rating of their capital, £. 2,450,000 (making together £. 27,725,000) added to the real commercial

APPENDIX [B.]

OBSERVATIONS on Mr. SMITH's
"Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Na-
tions ;" on a cursory reading thereof, at the
Cape of Good Hope, in Africa, April 1779.

Vol. I. p. 39.

MR. SMITH says,
"That labour
alone, *never varying in its
own value*, is *alone* the ulti-
mate standard by which
the value of all com-
modities can at all times
and places be estimated
and compared. It is
their *real price* ; money
is their *nominal price*
only.

OBSERVATIONS.

Since all nations have
at length concurred in
reducing the labour and
ingenuity of men to a
value, and fixed gold
and silver, when stamp-
ed by authority, as the
intermediate vehicle or
mark of universal ex-
change, and thence a
standard to regulate the
value of labour, may
not this be considered
as a mere commercial
commodity, equally li-
able to fluctuation as
many

many others, according to local circumstances, the prices of the necessities of life, and the commercial demand?

P. 40. He observes, "That college-leases, by statute, are payable one-third in corn, at the current market-price, or in kind. And that this third is *now* become near double the value of what arises from the remaining two-thirds reserved in money. This (Mr. Smith calls) *sinking* the old money-rents to a quarter-part of their ancient value."

Although ancient money-rents are not more than a quarter-part of what the same lands *now* rent for, yet, may it not be more properly said to arise, not from *sinking the old money-rents*, but, from evident causes, *increasing* the value of corn, and the necessities of life, the consequence of arts and improvements, and particularly of luxury?—The increase of luxury having increased the wants of land-holders, they have proportionably exacted greater rents; and these exactions have obliged tenants and subtenants to advance, in an equal degree, the prices of their commodities; which, falling heavy on the common necessities of labourers, have advanced, in the same proportion, the price

price of labour. Thus money might have retained its original weight, quality, intrinsic value, and currency; but the fluctuation of the *necessaries* of life hath claimed a larger quantity thereof, to keep pace with the labours of the husbandman, and artist. But, may there not have been a coincidence, the one decreasing in its value, as the other increased in demand, and both from natural and unconnected causes?

P. 85. He says, "That the money price of labour is higher in America than in Britain, and provisions cheaper; yet, that the *real* price of labour is also higher in America; its *real* price, the *real* command of the necessaries and conveniences of life, which it conveys, must be still higher in a greater proportion."

This, I conceive, with submission, to be a kind of contradiction of his former principles, as well as of the immediate assertion. — If provisions are cheaper, cloathing *only* can be understood to be dearer; yet linen and woollen drapery, imported from Britain, have been retailed in America for less than in Britain. The low value of land, the encouragement presented

to settlers, and a natural love of freedom and independence, are the probable causes of the high price of labour in America.

P. 86. He says, "That population in Britain and Europe, doubles only in 500 years."

P. 99. Mr. Smith, with great penetration, defines the several conditions of the great body of the people thus, "The condition of the labouring poor is most happy in the *progressive* state of the society, hard in the *stationary* state, and miserable in the *declining* state. In all the different orders of the society, the *progressive* state is hearty and chearful, the *stationary* is dull, and the *declining* melancholy."

One would wish to believe, that this is an erroneous computation. Britain, freed from war, emigration, the pernicious extension of the city of London, and monopolies of farms, its population would increase in near the same proportion as in America. Throughout those states in Europe where the Romish faith prevails, population decreases by the evident consequences of impolitic constitutions, and the want of manufactures, by the rigour of religious tenets, and by wars. In the northern kingdoms, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, where industry, peace, navigation, and commerce are encouraged, without the advantages of colonization,

tion, population increases rapidly, notwithstanding the intemperature of climate and sterility of soil.

P. 201. He attributes "the want of strength and form in the labouring people in Scotland, compared with the same class in England, to the difference of bread food, or, between oaten - bread and wheaten-bread."

Should it not rather be imputed to the quantity of animal or flesh-food, and strong beer, which English labourers eat and drink plentifully, and the Scots but sparingly, or very seldom?

P. 202. He says, "That as it is difficult to preserve potatoes, the fear of not being able to sell them before they rot, is the chief obstacle to their *ever* becoming the principal vegetable food of all the different ranks of people."

Query. — Whether by kiln-drying, potatoes would not keep long, without either rotting or losing their nutritive quality? Or, might they not be ground to meal or flour, and preserved by hard packing?

P. 244. He says, "That the nominal sum which constitutes the market - price of every commodity, is necessarily

This is an assertion against practice and experience. It is the value which the government of every country sets

necessarily regulated, not so much by the quantity of silver, which, according to the standard, *ought to be contained in it*, as by that which, it is found by experience, *actually is contained in it*.

sets upon its current coin, and the proportion thereof to the exchange with other countries, operating in the way of commerce, that constitutes its price: for example, in Holland, the silver and copper coins current by tale and authority, are not intrinsically worth three fourth parts of their current value; yet with that base inferior composition, a bill of exchange upon London is bought, with which guineas are commanded, worth twenty-one shillings on any exchange or in any mint in Europe.

Mr. Smith would seem, in my humble opinion, to treat the real and nominal prices of labour, and of current coins, throughout, too philosophical; which, in reality, the subjects will not admit of.—Philosophy had very little share in their establishment, Commerce was a more active agent.—The va-

value of coins is upheld by authority ; and the prices of labour and ingenuity are estimated by the prices of the common necessities of life in the first instance ; by the consumption in luxuries and parade *at home*, in the second ; and, principally, by the balance of trade, which guides the rate of exchange with other nations, in the third instance. In Britain, the value of a pound sterling, or of a penny, by either of which the exchanges with Europe are ascertained, fluctuating according to the immediate demand for remittances, are founded upon the sale of its manufactures, and the commodities of its colonies and settlements in America and Asia, or by the excesses of its supplies from other states, or sums foolishly wasted in foreign dominions. — When the standards of its gold and silver coins are higher than the standards

ards of other neighbouring states with which it communicates by commerce, to a greater extent than the risque, insurance, commission, and charges of exportation, the price of exchange is *then* affected, because it becomes an article of commerce, *hurtful to the nation.*

P. 248. Mr. Smith says, "That it would be more proper to consider the variation in the average *money* price of corn as the effect rather of some gradual rise in the *real* value of silver in the European market, than of any fall in the *real* average price of corn."—He alledges throughout, "That the rise of the price of corn at the several periods, has been owing to the increase of silver by the discovery of the South America mines, which diminished the value of coins."

The last idea appears natural; although in other places Mr. Smith observes, that the coinage of silver has at different periods *diminished in weight*, without altering the name, or in fact the *nominal* value of that species.—It may be thought, and it is acknowledged to be presumptuous, to oppose an opinion to that of so eminent an author; but these, surely, appear as contradictions, and the entire system seems adverse to daily experience.—The nominal value of coins in all nations, which is de-

rived from the supreme authority, has undergone very little alteration (except in the gold coin of France) since mankind attained a distinct idea and knowledge of universal commerce, and the force of luxury invented new wants; which is of a modern date. Until *then*, the uses of coins were imperfectly understood; and it is only since they were accurately understood, that their *nominal* and *intrinsic* values have become the objects of political and commercial disquisition. — The advance prices of corn may rather, therefore, be imputed to an increase of luxury in the middle and inferior classes of the people; to an increase in the number of manufacturers, navigators, and citizens, who become necessarily consumers, not in barter, as before the invention of coins, but in exchange for money; and to the monopoly of farms, which

which are converted into meadows for pasturage. In other countries of Europe, where manufactures are less known, the prices of corn have advanced only by the demand for exportation, operating as a manufacture, and creating an essential commodity in the scale of trade.

P. 250. He says, "That from 1740 to 1751, Britain exported 8,049,156 quarters and one bushel of all sorts of grain, for which a bounty was paid of £1,514,962. 17s. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

This is an important subject to the state. A nice calculation, founded upon true principles, is requisite, to determine the propriety or impropriety of a measure which hath consumed so much of the public wealth, and might prove dangerous, in certain events, to the existence of the nation. The conversion of corn land into meadows, may have been attended with two national evils, by creating a *losing* balance against it in trade.

trade *, and consuming the public revenues ; and particularly, by raising the prices of the *essential* necessities of life upon labourers, manufacturers, and the poor, and by that means enabling foreign states to supply themselves and their neighbours, by underselling Britain in those commodities which formerly produced the chief articles in the balance of trade.

Doubtless, the enormous export and bounty mentioned by Mr. Smith, must naturally have advanced the prices of grain at home, to the detriment of useful commerce, and the increase of the national debt ; because it is a fact, that, notwithstanding these *occasional* exports, the imports have, of late years, been considerably great-

* A balance *against* the trade of a nation may, in some local circumstances, be considered as a *gaining* balance, when it is *necessary*, without indulging luxury, and procured for less than it can be manufactured at home.

er than the exports, without bringing back a penny in duties, in lieu of the bounty paid on exportation*. The wisdom of parliament should devise expedients to encourage husbandry, without granting a bounty on the exportation of corn, and without the monopoly of farms; then the manufactures of Britain would resume their stations in the markets of Europe, as their qualities have ever been, and continue acknowledged to be superior to those of all other countries.

P. 269. Mr. Smith alledges, "That silver has increased in its value, since the present century."

Whether it has or has not, or shall hereafter, either increase or decrease in its quantity or value, as a commer-

* It has been computed with certainty, that the balance paid by Britain for corn imported, after deducting the value of exportation, stood thus:

	£.
In 1771, ———	105,200
1772, ———	84,400
1773, ———	569,820
1774, ———	1,022,230
and considerably more in 1775.	

cial

of the exports
 reduce it to an equality
 with coins of the neigh-
 bouring states; and by
 that means, reduce the
 public debt, which it
 will reduce the national
 coin within itself, with-
 out affecting either the
 political or commercial
 credit. In France, the
 seignorage is highly be-
 neficial to the gold coins,
 besides that the stand-
 ard of which is twenty-
 six grains, three quarters
 of a grain, and a six-
 teenth of a grain. In
 England, by reducing the
 gold coin to an equality
 with the British dominions,
 to the circulating stand-
 ard of French gold coins,
 it will yield about one
 million and six hundred
 thousand pounds more.
 After either increase or
 decrease in its quantity
 of silver, Smith had vi-
 sited the royal domains
 of France, and those
 of the princes of the
 blood royal, he would
 have perceived that
 the power of the
 simple exercise of poli-
 tical despotism only
 can create and main-
 tain

cial commodity, essen-
 tial also to the gratifi-
 cation of luxury and
 pomp, will make no al-
 teration necessary in the
nominal values of silver
 coins *current by autho-*
rity in the several king-
 doms and states of Eu-
 rope, while it is confi-
 dered and used merely as
 the vehicle of exchange
 in commerce, with-
 out any direct or criti-
 cal retrospection to its
 quality or intrinsic va-
 lue. If silver or gold
 in bullion, either rises
 or falls in its *commer-*
cial price, a greater or
 lesser quantity of alloy
 will be compounded in
 the current coins, with-
 out varying in any in-
 stance the currency
 thereof, in the country
 where it is stamped by
 legislative authority.—
 Doubtless, a nation la-
 bouring under discredit
 by a heavy load of *pub-*
lic debt, may justify
 the calling in the cur-
 rent coins, and recoin-
 ing with a greater pro-
 portion of alloy, by
 way of seignorage, to
 reduce

reduce it to an equality with coins of the neighbouring states ; and by that means, reduce the public debt ; while it will secure the national coin within itself, without affecting either its political or commercial credit. In France, the seignorage is eight per cent. on gold coins, besides that the standard, which is twenty-one carats, three quarters, is a quarter of a carat worse than English sterling. By reducing the gold now in circulation in the British dominions, to the circulating standard of French gold coins, it will yield about one million and a half sterling to the treasury.

P. 272. Mr. Smith says, "That it is scarce in the power of human industry to multiply game and fish."

If Mr. Smith had visited the royal domains of France, and those of the princes of the blood royal, he would have perceived, that *human power*, by the simple exercise of political despotism only, can increase and multiply

tiply game; and that wild birds will resort to, and admirably increase, in a greater proportion than dunghill fowls, and become equally tame, where shelter and security is yielded to them from human violence and invasion.

P. 300. He alledges, "That the increase of the quantity of gold and silver in Europe, and the increase of its manufactures and agriculture, are two events, which, though they have happened nearly about the same time, yet, *have arisen from very different causes, and have scarce any natural connection with one another.*"

Though the abolition of the feudal system originated in Europe at the same period of time that *chance* effected the discovery of the American mines, it is, nevertheless, equally true, that the increase of the quantity of gold and silver, which were, long before that period, the intermediate mark of exchange whereby to ascertain the prices and values of all commodities, was partly the cause of the improving progress in manufactures and agriculture; without which no adequate compensation could be made by other nations, either to encourage miners, or to obtain

obtain the valuable metals from those nations who had the sole possession and monopoly of them, as the means of giving value to any larger quantity than was before necessary in the *then* imperfect state of commerce. I conceive it to be a fixed principle, in judging of the laws of commerce, that the improvement of manufactures and agriculture are not only inseparable in their own natures, but actually dependent on each other; and that their united influence is the true source of wealth and population, and the springs of commercial action.—Another principle, in affixing an affinity between the increase of precious metals, and of manufactures and agriculture, is, that the quantity of species in circulation, must bear a certain proportion to the manufactured commodities, and these commodities to the success or improvements

provements in agriculture; and that the superfluous metals, *by means of these improvements*, have become also articles of manufacture, whereby their values are enhanced.

In support of this allegation, Mr. Smith instances Poland, "where the feudal system still continues, which, notwithstanding the increase of precious metals, continues as beggarly as before." — Doubtless, the unhappy system of its aristocratical government, operates as a mill-stone, perpetually weighing down and oppressing the *great body* of the people, or *all* below the rank of nobility, and discouraging industry and the arts. Yet it should also be considered, that Poland is so situated, as to be unfortunately removed out of the line of commerce. It wants *freedom*, without which neither commerce or agriculture can flourish: and its having been

been so often the wretched seat of ambitious wars, has interrupted agriculture, and occasioned depopulation.

Mr. Smith says, "That the value of the metals is lower in Spain and Portugal, than in any other part of Europe, because they come into all other parts loaded with a freight, insurance, and the expence of smuggling." I think this is an erroneous mode of judging and calculating, proceeding from Mr. Smith's not having accurately considered the nature of the commerce of Spain; which makes the precious metals *scarcer*, and in reality *dearer*, in those countries, than in other parts of Europe; since the same quantity of metals is capable of procuring less of the necessaries and conveniences of life in their dominions, than any where else; as those countries receive all their

their supplies, even to the necessities of life, from other states, and the very mines are carried on by means of the manufactures of other nations. Do not these goods, therefore, come loaded with heavier charges of freight, insurance, duty, commissions, and other charges, than bullion; which, by taking up less space, pays less freight; by being less liable to receive damage, is insured cheaper; and freed from a list of other charges, to which every other merchandize is incident?—and, as almost all the merchandize, and even the shipping which produce and transport the metals, are the production of other nations, to whom the metals are re-exported in the quality of manufactured merchandize, leaving little more than the duties and commission in the nations to which the mines belong?—Their poverty originated in the

the decay of industry^s with the discovery of the mines^{*}; which, by creating a nominal influence and false idea of wealth to the people, rendered them, at first by successes, and since by habit, proud, indolent, and totally negligent of agriculture and manufactures, whereby the population of Spain has, in that space of time, sunk from fourteen millions to seven and a half; and Portugal has dwindled from above three millions to one and three quarters.

P. 308 and 309. In support of his opinions concerning the difference in the values of labour and money, he quotes the high prices of superfine broad cloths formerly, compared with the present. — See the passages.

• Query.—Whether Britain is not likely to fall by the luxury which originated in the wealth and power acquired by her great successes?—and Holland also?

a much cheaper rate; the very materials are now bought for a less nominal price, by means of foreign commerce and domestic improvements; but, as a hundred persons now use cloths of that quality, for one that used them in former times, the increase of the demand increases the profit, although the price be considerably less.

P. 330, &c. Mr. Smith's definition of the *division of stock*, is ingenious and judicious. The idea is new, and exceedingly proper for the study of persons in private life, and should be well understood by persons in the administration of public affairs, and by legislators.

P. 396. He says, "That the paper-currency of North America was made payable only after several years, without interest: That therefore it was a violent injustice, and a tyrannical regulation, to force it in payment, when

I have already observed, that the nominal value of coins in any country, or of that public emission which supplies the place of gold and silver, will not bear to be treated philosophically; because even the gold and silver coins are,

when the interest of the colony was six per cent. per annum, and only due in fifteen years, creating a loss to the holder of sixty per cent: — That one hundred pounds sterling was occasionally considered as equivalent, in some of the colonies, to one hundred and thirty pounds, in others, to eleven thousand pounds currency: — That this difference in the value arises from the difference in the quantity of paper emitted in the different colonies, and in the distance and probability of its final discharge and redemption."

are, in every country, founded upon a discretionary estimation, guided sometimes by the force of laws, and at other times by the voluntary agreement and pleasure of merchants. — Notes circulating under the sanction and security of government, and to continue in circulation for a limited term, in which it is computed that the public will be able to extinguish its debt by the redemption of paper with actual money; and that the sum in circulation is limited to the amount of the debt; — if the credit of government be good for that amount, there can be no inconvenience to the individuals, and it should pass as current as metal coins. By custom, and by tale, a half Johannes of Portugal, worth in England but thirty-six shillings, when of full weight, is current in some of the American colonies, after repeated clippings, at

the West India Islands, where no paper has ever been emitted, and for the most part, gold and silver coins of Portugal and Spain circulate in payment, the exchange varies from 125 to 175 per cent. in favour of British sterling, and the par of silver and gold is proportionably the same throughout, bearing above 20 per cent. more than bills. In the French islands, the exchange upon France is 150 currency per £. 100. In the value of gold and silver is constant at 183½ per 100. — These instances may suffice to show, that the emission of paper-money on government security, is neither unjust nor tyrannical, provided that there is not more thrown into the circulation than is requisite to maintain its commerce, and to supply the necessary intercourse of the colony within itself.

sixty-six shillings currency, when £. 100 sterling is rated at £. 160 currency; which is rating the gold at twenty-three one-third more than the current exchange for bills upon England.—And yet, as it passes current, without the compulsion of any law, and only by the voluntary agreement and the pleasure of merchants, who are willing to receive it at that rate, in payment for British and other goods, it is not deemed an injustice or tyranny, although the security is not so good as that of government, and although it produces no interest, but on the contrary loses daily in its real value by wear.—Spanish dollars are likewise rated in the same exact proportion above the current course of exchange. Mr. Smith has not (I apprehend) truly investigated the nature and causes of colony-exchange, and their fluctuations. — In the

the West India islands, where no paper has ever been emitted, and, for the most part, gold and silver coins of Portugal and Spain circulate in payment, the exchange varies from 125 to 175 per cent. in favour of British sterling, and the par of silver and gold is proportionably the same throughout, bearing above 20 per cent. more than bills. In the French islands, the exchange upon France is 150 currency per £.100 Tournois; yet the value of gold and silver is constant at $183\frac{1}{2}$ per 100 Tournois. — These instances may suffice to shew, that the emission of paper-money on government security, is neither unjust nor tyrannical, provided that there is not more thrown into the circulation than is requisite to maintain its commerce, and to supply the necessary intercourse of the colony within itself.

P. 431. He says,
“That *interest* has sunk
in Europe, *since* and *by*
reason of the discovery
of the silver and gold
mines in America.”

This assertion has a
direct retrospection to
what has been investi-
gated (page 439) “con-
cerning the increase of
gold and silver in Eu-
rope, and the increase
of manufactures and a-
griculture, though hap-
pening at the same time,
having had, neverthe-
less, no natural con-
nection, and arising from
very different causes.”
In like manner, the
same mode of reason-
ing may justify the re-
duction of interest for
the use of money, as the
principal, if not the
sole cause, since the
progressive improve-
ments in useful arts and
sciences have, by equal
progressions, expanded
the intellectual faculties
of men.—As the arts of
improvement and of
commerce, have ap-
proached to perfection,
so the prices of goods,
and the labour bestowed
on them, became less ;
and as the arts became
general, the profits be-
came so also, and in
consequence less ; there-
fore

fore the use of money sunk in the same proportion.—Thus it will be found; and Mr. Smith acknowledges, that in new colonies, or upon any new undertaking, the value of money is higher, as well as the rate of interest, and diminishes in proportion to the improvement; and that in commercial states, and states far advanced in improvements, the interest is always lower than in those where there is less commerce and fewer manufactures, or which are, in general, very far back in the knowledge and property of the useful arts. Thus the rates of interest have been governed more by the improvements made in manufactures, trade, and navigation, than by the discovery of mines; because the active invention of mankind would have substituted some other metals, as the universal mark of exchange, to which time,

time, use, and authority, would have given the same importance and stability, that are now given to silver and gold.

Mr. Smith explains himself afterwards, in opposition to the opinions of Locke, Law, and Montesquieu, who asserted, "that interest sunk by reason of the increase of gold and silver *only*;" and he says, "that the profits of stock are in proportion as the actual species in a country is to the capital employed; and that the common proportion between capital and profit would therefore be the same; and consequently the common interest of money."—This is declaring an effect without a cause: but surely, if the borrower did not obtain a greater profit than what he was obliged to give for the use of money, together with the bare value of his labour, the estimation

tion of use is over-rated, because the borrower gets only a bare subsistence, without any reasonable consideration for risques, casualties, and genius; therefore the rate of interest should, and must, always be lower than the exact proportion between the capital and the profit.

Whether it be that the subjects are less intricate, and better adapted therefore to my conception, or that they are more familiar to my knowledge and ideas, in the subsequent reading of this laborious performance; or that Mr. Smith draws the latter conclusions from facts and experience, and therefore ceases to treat them philosophically, I know not: but henceforward, his observations appear more clear and distinct to my comprehension, tending to elucidate the minds of administration, and instructing them to view the real state of the nation through a true perspective, and to disclose the means of restoring the whole to its original vigour and texture.

Vol. I. p. 479. Mr. Smith says, "That yeomanry is regarded as an inferior rank of people throughout

Upon a general principle, Mr. Smith's observations are just. Constitutional liberty ever encourages

throughout Europe; and that they are most respected in Britain. That in the republican governments of Holland, and Berne in Switzerland, the farmers *are said* to be not inferior to those in England."

encourages agriculture, as well as manufactures and trade. In England, farming is not only encouraged mechanically in those who profess it, but it has of late years become a branch of liberal science, and the practice thereof fashionable among the first rank of commoners. It is very much respected and caressed in its *general* and *mechanical* capacity. — Mr. Smith might have ascribed self-importance, ease, and skill, with greater propriety to the farmers of the Austrian Netherlands, and to some districts of French Flanders, than to those of Holland and Switzerland; though probably the distances at which those provinces are happily placed from the over-bearing vices, tyranny, and ambitious emulation of their respective courts*, together with the *remnant*

* Vienna and Paris.

seeds

feeds of their own original constitutions * may have as yet preserved them from the wretchedness of their fellow-subjects.

Vol. I. p. 495. Mr. Smith has asserted with equal confidence and judgment, and it is an incontrovertible truth, "That *commerce and manufacture* gradually introduced *order and good government*, and with them the *liberty and security* of individuals, among the inhabitants of the country who had before lived in a continual state of war with their neighbours, and of servile dependency upon their superiors. This, though it has been the least observed, is by far the most important of all their effects."

P. 509. He says, "That a merchant is not necessarily the citizen of any *particular* country." — This remark is as pithy and just, as it is liberal, under the idea of a *general* merchant, and the sacred reputation, honor, and commercial credit, which formerly belonged to a profession, which contributed more than any other to civilize remote nations, and establish a universal sociability. But the term *merchant* hath submitted to abuses since.

Vol. II. p. 2. He says, "That it is a *popular* notion, which supposes wealth to consist in gold

* The Flemish.

and

and silver species, arising from the double function of *money as the instrument of commerce and the measure of value.*" This is a very sensible observation, and a true one: and on the same principle, in the 20th page, he says, "That bullion is the money of the great mercantile republic."

Vol. II. p. 43. He says, "That to prohibit, *by a perpetual law*, the importation of foreign corn and cattle, is in reality to enact, that the population and industry of the country shall at no time exceed what the rude produce of its own soil can maintain."

If Holland, Venice, Genoa, the Hanse-towns, and other free governments, were to adopt such a maxim, their declension would be rapid indeed. Mr. Smith's remark is so just, that it were happy for the British empire if every minister and legislator would submit to make it an unalterable part of his political creed, and remember it before he assents to the passing of any perpetual law whatever, as the effects of all general laws are deducible from the principles of industry and population.

Vol. II. p. 48 and 49. He says, with great justice, "*That taxes upon the necessaries of life, have nearly the same effect upon the circumstances of the people, as a poor soil and a bad climate; provisions being thereby rendered dearer, in the same manner as if it required extraordinary labour and expence to raise them. When taxes are grown to a certain height, they are a curse equal to the*

the barrenness of the earth, and the inclemency of the heavens."

P. 51. He says, "That to judge whether retaliations by one nation, for restraining the importation of its goods or manufactures in another, are likely to produce a repeal of the restraints, does not, perhaps, belong so much to the science of a legislator, whose deliberations ought to be governed by *general* principles, which are *always* the same, as to the skill of *that insidious and crafty animal, vulgarly called a statesman or politician, whose counsels are directed by the momentary fluctuations of affairs.*"

However just Mr. Smith's distinction may be, in ascertaining the *separate* duties of a minister and legislator, in matters of trade, it nevertheless belongs to the legislator to be informed, as well of the particular principles which actuate the minister on any particular subject, as to understand the general principles of commerce, and the distributive relation of the manufactures of one nation to another. A particular knowledge of manufactures, and a general knowledge of trade, together with the universal and relative principles of navigation, are the equal, and should be the indispensable provinces of both statesman and legislator. This subject is more immediately applicable to the rivalry between Britain and France, than any other countries

countries in Europe.—

The balance of trade is the pivot upon which the rivalry turns.—A

question will naturally arise upon this subject, whether a treaty of commerce with France, upon limited, but liberal grounds, would not prove more effectual in removing those retaliating restraints, reciprocally, than any other mode whatever, with peculiar advantages in favour of Britain.—

Britain chiefly imports wines from France; its other imports consist of luxuries. These are commodities *which corrupted gouts and minds* have, by habit, rendered indispensable in the first and second classes of the nation, and will continue, therefore, to be obtained by *licit* or *illicit* means. France, more despotic and effectual over the minds and actions of all her subjects, can restrain the importation of contraband goods; and by that means *necessity*, the parent

rent of *invention*, will devise means to force the manufacture of goods *at home*, which, in time, are brought to such perfection as to render the restraining laws unnecessary. Thus Britain loses in a two-fold sense, viz. by not vending her own manufactures, and by being obliged to take French wines avowedly paying duty, and three times as much clandestinely, without any duty, and by yielding encouragement for smuggling other luxuries. The balance of trade, for the same reason, will continually be against Britain. It is an unerring maxim, which experience should have demonstrated long ago to financiers, that when any commodity is taxed immoderately, the certain consequence will be, the diminution of that branch of the revenue; which arises from two self-evident causes, viz. the diminution of the legal imports, and

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the temptation to run contraband goods, the high duties operating as a seducing premium for the risque.

Without bringing the enormous sums expended by British subjects residing and travelling in France, into the computation, it must be acknowledged, that the general balance has of late years turned considerably to the side of France, notwithstanding the tobacco contracts, and the large exportation of the gold coin of Britain since the recoinage in 1773, which appeared conspicuously in the rate of exchange having augmented the number of pence for a French crown above the par, which formerly had been generally under it. — The exportation of the British gold coin into France, arose from the very great superiority in the standard, and some also in the weight, of guineas over Louis d'ors; though in general they are reputed,

in tale, of equal value. The Caisse d'Escompte in Paris had agents in Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, who gave twelve sols and a Louis d'or for each new guinea, and sent several thousands every month to Paris, where they were immediately dissolved into Louis d'ors. Would it not, as well in a revenue, as in a commercial point of view, be political to reduce the British coin standard to an equality with the French gold standard? And, like them, and all the other commercial states in Europe, to increase the quantity of silver coin in circulation, reducing the latter coin to the standard of Holland? Such a measure, keeping to the exact standards of France and Holland, would raise a considerable revenue; would retain the current specie in the nation, to the great encouragement and benefit of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture;

culture; and would do away many of the temptations to counterfeit and clip the coins. If, by thus reducing the real quality of coins to the standard of other commercial nations, the price of labour, or the productions of labour, should advance in a retrospective progression, (which, however, is not very probable) the evil would in that case fall, as it ought in justice and good policy to do, upon the intemperate or avaricious rack-renting landlords; provided a legal mean is devised to restrain them from a continuation of unreasonable exactions, or otherwise distressing their tenants; the consequences of which would be, that the future prices of the necessaries of life would be fixed, unless remarkably good or bad seasons should occasion a temporary fluctuation.

The mode of computing the balance of trade in Britain, by the Custom-

Custom-house entries, is erroneous and deceitful. The rate of exchange between one country and another, is the true criterion; because the prices of bills are always governed by the surplus demand, which elevates or depresses, like mercury, by the warmth of the creditor, or the frigidity of the debtor.— Thus, for example, if a greater quantity of any foreign coin is allowed for a pound sterling, than the par of exchange (according to their respective silver standards) it denotes a greater demand to remit to England, and consequently that the balance of trade is in favour of England*.

The

* This subject leads me to the observation, that Mr. Smith, in treating of the commercial system of Britain, and the connection thereof with the American colonies, although just in almost all his remarks, seems not to have fixed his attention with sufficient energy to the chief national bulwark, *the acts of trade and navigation*, particularly the 12th Car. II. These two subjects, to wit, the general commercial system, and its immediate connection with the American colonies, considered generally, will furnish a political question— Whether, upon a strict enquiry into the flow, and often-

The subject of coinage is capable of useful discussion. A guinea, of full weight, passes in common currency but for 24 livres, in France; although, by a comparative estimation, a Louis d'or of full weight is worth no more in England than about 18 s. 4 d. $\frac{1}{4}$, estimating the par of exchange at 22 livres 10 sols per pound sterling.—I have made the computation thus:

	£. s. d.
In France, a mark of <i>fine</i> gold is worth	740 9 1 $\frac{1}{4}$
The standard of 21 $\frac{3}{4}$ carats is worth - -	671 0 10
Less than pure gold, per mark	69 8 3 $\frac{1}{4}$
The standard mark is coined into 30 Louis d'ors, equal to 720 livres, which is worse than standard - -	48 19 2
	£. 118 7 5 $\frac{1}{4}$

times uncertain returns for British manufactures from the colonies in America, and the quick and frequent returns from the European foreign markets, the latter may not enable the manufacturers to undersell the manufactures of other countries, with surer and greater advantages to themselves and the nation?

Thus

Thus coined gold

is worse than

fine, per mark 118 7 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

Which will be

found to be a-

bout 32 l. ster-

ling per mark,

or per

ounce; of infe-

rior standard by

$\frac{1}{4}$ carat; and the

English stand-

ard is valued at 3 17 10 $\frac{1}{2}$

per oz. making

a difference of

per oz. - 0 2 1 $\frac{1}{2}$

Eight per cent.

signorage in

France on 80 l.

is - - 0 6 6 $\frac{8}{15}$

$\frac{1}{4}$ carat in the

standard is, - 0 0 11 $\frac{1}{5}$

The whole differ-

ence per oz. £. 0 9 7 $\frac{1}{4}$

nearly: which, proportion-

ed to the guineas and Louis

d'ors contained respective-

ly in an ounce, constitutes

a difference in the value

of a guinea above a Louis-

d'or of 2s. 7d. $\frac{70}{8}$.

Vol. II. p. 206. He

says, "That Virginia

and Maryland sent to

the British market above

96,000 hogsheds of to-

bacco; whereof about

14,000 was said to be

consumed in Britain."

It is a pity that Mr.

Smith did not shew the

public advantages reap-

ed from this single

branch of the American

trade. Each hoghead

may be rated at 7 l.

10 s. neat, or the whole

at 720,000 l. sterling;

whereof

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whereof the British consumption was but £. 105,000: the remaining £. 615,000 created a balance of trade in favour of Britain; besides that, by employing at least 330 capital ships, it gave bread and encouragement to upwards of five thousand seamen. The duties on the 14,000 hogsheads consumed in Britain, produced a revenue, at £. 26. 1 s. per hogshead, of £. 364,700, besides some fractional parts of the subsidies, which were retained at exportation, of the duties paid on importation. — The *whole* of these sums, as also an increase of debts by way of loans, were returned to America in British manufactures and India goods from Britain. The debts owing by the colonists, in Britain, and the quantities of bullion annually remitted from the colonies to Britain, constitute the smallest part of the balance in favour of the trade of Britain with

with her colonies ; the most important object hath been, the happy advantages of not being subjugated to other nations, for the rich and indispensable commodities with which the colonies supply the British market.

P. 226. Mr. Smith says, "That the assemblies can never be managed, so as to levy upon their constituents a revenue sufficient, not only to maintain, *at all times*, their own civil and military establishment, but to pay their *proper* proportion of the expence of the general government of the British empire, *seems not at all probable.*"

It should be first determined by Mr. Smith, whether the Americans should pay *all* their own civil and military establishment, together *also* with a proportion of the *whole* expences of the *general* empire ; or, under what quantum he means to define the *proper* proportion of the *general* expence. But in the form in which the meaning at present appears, it seems to be an idea founded only on conjecture. The people of America having passions like other men, after long and fruitless humble supplications, have

have become, in their turn, callous, as well as turbulent, refractory, and vindictive; infinitely more so than was natural to their constitutions, and their distinguished loyalty and attachment to the mother state; which proves, that no people are more dangerous than those who preserve a phlegmatic character, when driven to desperation, and their resentments are raised; nor a more dreadful and implacable enemy than an enraged friend; and it equally proves, that numberless political errors, when once adopted, become, unhappily, fixed principles. But the people of America, being sensible, reasonable, and open to conviction, may easily be made to behold the happy state in which they once were, as subjects to the *crown* of Britain, and the miseries which *independence* will entail, inevitably, on themselves and their posterity;

posterity; and they will, consequently, adopt the happy medium of contributing, in a reasonable proportion, to the exigencies of the *general* empire, for *general* security, as *general* subjects of the same great state.

P. 237. He says, "That it is alledged the Spanish and Portuguese colonies consume three millions sterling a year, in the article of linen alone, from Germany, Holland, Flanders, and France."

This allegation corroborates what I have already remarked, concerning the value of precious metals in the mine - possessing countries, (p. 449): but it also seems incredible; it being more than a *probable* proportion of the rich commodities, of every kind, imported into Europe from the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. It should likewise be computed in this estimate, that the galleons from South America to the Philippine islands bring back rich cargoes of fine cottons; that the Portuguese ships from India
2 fell

sell cottons on the coast of Brazil; that the Dutch, French, and English traders in the West Indies, supply the Spanish main with linen and cotton cloths; that vast quantities of superfine woollen cloths and silks are annually imported from Europe and Asia for the consumption of these American colonies; and that, after all, the whole export of bullion seldom exceeds the value of six millions sterling in any one year.

P. 248 and 249. Mr. Smith says, "That the Cape of Good Hope, and Batavia, are at present the most considerable European colonies in Africa or the East Indies, being peculiarly fortunate in their situation; that their situations have enabled them to surmount *all* the obstacles which the oppressive genius of an exclusive Company may have

Mr. Smith has trusted to a false information, in the idea of superiority which he has ascribed to these two Dutch settlements. — The oppressive genius of an exclusive Company, hath wholly obstructed the growth of public and private opulence, and of industry, at the Cape of Good Hope, where nature hath bountifully furnished

have occasionally opposed to their growth, and, in Batavia, the additional disadvantage of perhaps the most unwholesome climate in the world."

ed the means of making it a most delightful and flourishing colony. Batavia is also cramped by the same evil genius ; and the natives, the Chinese emigrants, and Malays, are rendered disaffected by the scourges of wanton and impolitic tyranny and oppression. Even the unhealthfulness of Batavia, is an evil of Dutch invention, because they cannot exist out of water ; and they have introduced unnecessary canals into the town, the stagnation of which is the chief cause of the mortality that hath depopulated the place, and contributed greatly to the bankruptcy of the Dutch East India Company.

Mr. Smith's observations in pages 236, and in 252, 253, &c. vol. ii. on the mercantile government and orders of the English Company to their servants in India, claim attention ; and on the future government and influence in the East and West Indies, are just and prophetic.

Chap.

Chap. II. Book V. upon the duties and excise, is, probably, the most ingenious and perfect disquisition and conclusion on that subject, that has yet appeared in print.—Great and many advantages may be derived from a just and steady application of the principles which are deducible from the objects laid down by Mr. Smith, as political improvements on the national finances and trade.—In page 518, his observations on the salaries and perquisites of officers employed in collecting taxes, duties, and excise, call for the speedy attention of parliament.—The perquisites of office are more grievous than the tax levied, in as much as they are arbitrary and oppressive; but, in many instances, greater than the impost collected; and are, moreover, the means of frequently defrauding the revenue by connivances.

In the 419th page, he states “the ordinary revenues of Britain, for the current expence, interest of public debts, and for sinking a part of the debt, above ten millions; whereof the land-tax quota is near two millions, or one-fifth part.”—By this mode of estimating the land-tax, the *gross* landed revenue of Great Britain does not exceed ten millions a year.—The rent reserved is always supposed to be no more than one-third part of the *gross production* of the land; and it is also conjectured, that when the land-tax is at four shillings, the proprietors, on an average throughout the kingdom, pay no more than two shillings in the pound of the present value of reserved rents. At that rate, therefore, the real neat produce to the proprietors will amount to twenty millions, and the gross or entire production to sixty millions.—Of this sixty millions in gross, only one-sixth part pays the tax out of the pockets of the land proprietors; and the remaining

maining five-sixths is paid by the consumers; to wit, labourers, mechanics, manufacturers, and merchants.—Thus, out of the two millions *land-tax*, part of the ten millions *general tax*, the landed property, *in the first instance*, pays but the thirtieth part of the whole; the remaining twenty-nine thirtieths falling upon commerce and agriculture, or rather upon industry and ingenuity, *even* when the land-tax is at the highest that has ever yet been assessed.

APPENDIX [C.]

SECRET DEPARTMENT.

Consultation, *Wednesday, 15th December 1779.*

READ again the Governor General's proposition for a reply to Mr. Purling's letter, entered in the last consultation.

Mr. Wheeler.—Although I have little or no concern in the transactions, that have reduced the Nabob of Oude to the necessity of representing his present distresses to this board, and highly disapprove of the principles on which they were governed; I submit to the necessity of concurring in the present motion.

Mr. Francis.—If indispensable necessity alone had been pleaded in defence of the measure proposed in the governor's motion, I should have contented myself with enquiring how far the plea might in fact be well founded. It supposes an extremity, to which no general reason can be opposed. If such a case exists at present, we may lament the

the steps that have reduced our government to a situation, in which we are compelled to renounce the principles of justice and good faith, or to incur the hazard of ruin. But we must yield to *facts*, by which the claims of *right* are too often superseded. *I must desire it to be understood, that it is on this ground alone, I acquiesce in the substance of this motion.* Many things are said in support of it, to which I do not assent. Some of them, I think, are very unfit to be urged to the Nabob.

I have not been long enough in the habits of dominion, to see any thing offensive or alarming in the demand made by an independent prince, to be relieved from the burthen of maintaining a foreign army, which, it is notorious, have devoured his revenues and his country, under colour of defending it.

On what principles do we profess to act towards our neighbours and allies, when a demand apparently so reasonable, is construed into a grievous injury or offence? He tells us, he is no longer able to pay our troops, and desires they may be withdrawn.—It is said, that the principle on which his objections are made, is repugnant with his engagement with the Company. I wish to see his engagement stated, if it exists. With respect to the regular brigade, the treaty of Fyzabad fixes the subsidy he is to pay for it, *while it is stationed with him*; and the Court of Directors, in their letter of the 15th of December 1775, approve of their keeping a brigade in the service of the Soubah of Oude, *provided it be done with the free consent of the Soubah; but by no means without it.*—Concerning this part of the army, however, there is at present no dispute, since the Vizier does not desire to have it recalled. His demand goes solely to the temporary brigade, and independent battalions under Major Hannay and Captain Osborne. The

former, he says, is not only quite useless to the government, but is the cause of much loss, both in the revenues and customs; the latter, he asserts, bring nothing but confusion to the affairs of government, and are entirely their own masters.

If this representation were not strictly true, *as I am convinced it is*, it would not affect the right and justice of his demand. — The question is, Have we a right to keep an army in his country against his will, and whether he be able to pay them or not? The Governor says, “It is *our* part, and not *his*, to judge and determine in what manner, and at what time, these troops shall be reduced or withdrawn.” I believe there is no precedent of a treaty of subsidy formed on such a principle. The state that could submit to it, must by the same act renounce its own political existence. In the instance before us, the fact is, that when the temporary brigade was formed out of the Vizier’s troops, he was expressly assured by the Governor General, “that the expence of it should remain a fixed charge to him, *for so long a time as he should require the corps for his service.*” — The observations which the Court of Directors themselves have made on this part of the transaction, are so exactly in point, and describe the present case with so much precision, that I shall insert their own words, as much better and stronger, than any thing I could say on the subject.

“If by this proposition it is intended to leave the Vizier at liberty to discharge the troops at his pleasure, we think such a stipulation dangerous, and likely to operate to our very great inconvenience; and if more be meant than is expressed, and you intend to exert your influence, first to induce the Vizier to acquiesce in your proposal, and afterwards

wards to compel him to keep the troops in his pay during your pleasure, your intentions are unjust, and a correspondent conduct would reflect great dishonour on the Company."

The motion supposes, not only a necessity of our compelling him to keep those troops in his pay, but that we ourselves should be the collectors of the revenue which is to pay them, which, as things are now managed, is nearly equivalent to putting the country under military execution. *Thus one necessity produces another, and will continue to do so, as long as the Indian states possess any thing that can tempt our avarice, or gratify our ambition, or until we ourselves are taught by experience, that there is some self-wisdom in doing justice to others.*

The system which has created our present necessities * does not belong to me, though I am compelled to participate in the measures which they have rendered unavoidable.

Governor General.—I scarce know in what light to regard this minute. It consists solely of objections to the question; except the conclusion, which is an acquiescence in it. If the measures which I have recommended be unjust, if it be contrary to the orders of the Court of Directors, and to the principles of public faith, no consideration should compel us to persevere in it; but other expedients should be suggested, if any others can be devised, or we ought implicitly to yield to the Nabob's demand, especially if it be, as Mr. Francis states it, "apparently so reasonable, and supported by right and justice."

To the assertion, that the system which has created our present necessities does not belong to

* Alluding to the Marratta war.

Mr. Francis, I must beg leave to reply, that it belongs to the administration of this government, which formed the existing treaty with the Nabob Asoph-ul-Dowla, and created a new military establishment for the defence of those parts of his dominions, which were interdicted to our troops by the positive orders of the Company. Neither Mr. Barwell nor myself were efficient parts of that administration. Mr. Francis was; and therefore, in my understanding of it, the system which has created our present necessities does specially, and, with relation to the present board, exclusively, belong to him. The treaty which was concluded with the Nabob Sujah Dowla, placed him on the most respectable footing, as the sovereign of an independent state, and left all his rights untouched, with a provision for their security against eventual encroachments upon them; and the duration of his alliance with the Company depended yet more upon the reciprocal and equal advantages which it held out to both parties, than on the formality of a written compact.—This treaty was broken at his death, and a new one, constructed on far different principles, was made with his son and successor, by which the latter eventually and necessarily became a vassal of the Company, and their interests bound by such strong and intricate ties, as must render it dangerous at any time to separate them, and fatal to both at such a time as this. It would lead me into too wide a discussion, to bring proofs of this, by a deduction of all the effects which have been successively derived from this treaty; nor, in this place, is it necessary. The treaty itself is in the hands of the public. Its consequences were foreseen from the commencement of it; and on this occasion, I shall be content to rely on the general opinion of the world
for

for its sanction of my own. With respect to the troops appropriated to the defence of the new-acquired dominions of the Nabob of Oude, these were raised at the express solicitation of the present Nabob, and by a vote of the late administration, in which I had not, as I have before declared, an effective voice, nor any other concern, but in the charge of their first form, and nominal dependency. Their substance is still the same. They were originally engrafted on our own constitution, and became at once so intimately united with it, as to implicate it in all the dangers incident to the defects of their first formation. They have now no separate or distinct existence, and may be said properly to consist of our whole military establishment, with the exception only of our European infantry. They cannot be withdrawn without imposing on the Company the additional burthen of their expence, or *disbanding of nine battalions of disciplined Sepoys, and three regiments of horse, at a time when our actual strength is confessedly unequal to all the possible exigencies of the extensive dominions, which depend on us for their protection**; and when we should not only lose their services, but must expect to see them become the most active and dangerous instruments in the hands of our enemies. In repeating Mr. Francis's assertion, I do not mean to deduce all the necessities which attend the present state of our connection with the Nabob of Oude, as effects from any system, but only the necessity of maintaining the in-

* And yet Mr. Hastings has invariably pursued plans of extending conquests, and wasting the Company's funds, by an increase of the military establishment, from about six hundred thousand pounds to about two millions of English pounds annually.

fluence and force which we possess in his country. The disorders of his state, and the dissipation of his revenues, are the effects of his own conduct; which have failed, not so much from the usual effects of incapacity, as from the detestable choice which he has made of the ministers of his power, and the participation of his confidence. I forbear to expatiate further on his character. It is sufficient that I am understood by the members of this board, who must know the truth of my allusions.

As no period was stipulated for the continuance of the temporary brigade, or of the troops which are to supply their place in his service, nor any mode prescribed for withdrawing them; the time and mode of withdrawing them must be guided by such rules, as the necessity and the common interests of both parties shall dictate. These, either he must prescribe, or ourselves, if we cannot agree upon them. *In such a division, the strongest must decide.* This consequence is inevitable; and I trust that in our decision, we shall be warranted by the strictest principles of justice, of public faith, and of the obligations required by the obligation in which we stand to the Nabob. If we abandon him, or, which would be equivalent to it, if we withdraw the actual defences of his dominions, his ruin must be the consequence, and ours may be drawn after it. No one will affirm, that he is capable of defending them by his own strength, or of providing resources for their defence from his own abilities.

I see many defects in our political system, and especially that part of it which appertains to the Nabob of Oude; but this government wants the present means of correcting them, nor dare I suggest them. Perhaps expedients may be found, for affording the Nabob a gradual relief from the bur-
then

then of which he so heavily complains, and it shall be my endeavour to seek out, and to recommend, those means of relief. But these must be gradually applied, and their complete effect may be distant; and this I conceive is all that he can claim of right. At his solicitation, for the purpose of his convenience, and for the support of his interests, these troops were raised. He has no right to require us to disband them to our own hurt, and immediately. I, for my own part, do not attribute the demand to any conviction impressed on the Nabob's mind, by the necessity of his affairs, but to the knowledge which his advisers have acquired of the weakness and divisions of our own government. This is a powerful motive with me, however inclined I might be, upon any other occasion, to yield to some part of his demands, to give them an absolute and unconditional refusal upon the present, and even to bring to punishment, if my influence can produce that effect, those incendiaries who have endeavoured to make themselves the instruments of division between us.

Mr. Francis.—I have acquiesced in the substance of the motion, on the grounds of immediate necessity; and I have combated some of the principles on which it is supported. This distinction is a clear one.

The system of measures to which the conclusion of my former minute alludes, is that general one which has created our present necessities, and which I have uniformly opposed; the Marratta war is a principal part of it.

The establishment of the temporary brigade in the Company's service, was voted about the middle of the year 1777, against the opinion of

Sir John Clavering and myself. The corps commanded by Major Hannay and Captain Osborne, are of a still later date.

Whether those acts were a necessary and unavoidable consequence of our lending the Nabob a number of British officers to discipline his own troops, still continuing under his own authority, is a question on which enough has been said already. When the measure was proposed here, it had the concurrence of the Governor General's voice. With respect to the treaty of Fyzabad, I believe it to be the general opinion of the world, that it was a very advantageous one to the Company. The Governor General himself has hitherto declared it so in terms, and the Court of Directors have approved of it highly. In what manner it made the Nabob a vassal of this government, I cannot comprehend.

I have nothing to do with the Vizier's private life or character. He may, or may not, be guilty of the vices imputed to him. The spirit of party is apt to paint all characters in extremes: but I do know, that in this respect, nothing could be more atrocious than the character of his brother Saudut Ally; yet it did not prevent his being perfectly well received in Calcutta. For my own part, I have no wish to be acquainted with either of them.

As to the defence of the Vizier's dominions, and the ruin which would ensue if our troops were withdrawn, I shall only say, that I know of no enemies he has, but those which his actual connections with us may have created.

Governor General.—I have said, and repeat, that the establishment of the temporary brigade, was but a continuation of the former measures,
though

though differently modified. As to the corps commanded by Major Hannay and Captain Osborne, it would be immaterial to me, whether they were retained or not. I have no wish to continue them; but when they are made the parts of such a demand, I will not separate them in the reply, which I advise to be made to him. They might be of the greatest utility. The Nabob renders them useless, and defeats the purposes of their appointment, and then proposes their abolition.

I well remember, that my assent was given to the general proposition for disbanding the licentious and expensive multitude, which composed the Nabob's army, and substituting a corps disciplined and commanded by British officers in its stead; but I had no share in the formation of this corps, nor did I approve of it. Many measures passed at that time, of which I did not approve, although I did not think it necessary, nor consistent with my public duty, to make an effectual opposition to them, and to impede the course of those affairs, which I was not allowed to conduct. The sense which I have now expressed of the treaty of Fyzabad, is such as I have always entertained of it. As I do not know the passage to which Mr. Francis alludes as a contradiction of this opinion, I cannot say whether it will or will not admit of that conclusion; although I will readily admit, and must admit, the advantages which the Company immediately derived from the treaty.

Mr. Francis was surely not aware of the injury which he did me, in ascribing to the spirit of party the character which I gave of Asoph-ul-Dowla. He himself knows it to be true. He has had as authentic means of knowing it as I have; and it is

is one of those notorieties which supersede the necessity of any evidence. Why his character should be contrasted with that of his brother Saudut Ally, I know not; the subject did not require it. I was forced to the allusion which I made, by the imputation which appeared to me to be cast upon this government, of having caused the evils which prevail in the government of the Nabob of Oude; which I could only answer by ascribing them to their real cause, the character and conduct of the Nabob of Oude. Mr. Francis mistakes, if he supposes that I am hurt by any reflection that may be cast on Saudut Ally; or that I shall stand forth in his vindication: I have heard the same imputations cast on Saudut Ally, with some others; which, because they had relation to the peace of this town, I made a strict and formal enquiry into them, and found them to be totally false. These charges may be true; but let them be admitted, What reference has his character to the present question? Were his vices, in a ten-fold degree, greater than they are, they have not affected nor influenced the difficulties to which our debates have alluded. Nor, whatever may be the character of his brother, shall I ever draw any conclusion from it, by which the obligation of our engagements to him may be affected.

Mr. Francis.—The opinion of the Governor General, concerning the treaty of Fyzabad, is recorded on the 14th of September 1775, in the following words:

“As, however, the treaty which has been concluded is very advantageous to the Company, it is my wish that it may be confirmed by the honourable Court; but I take the liberty of recommending,

mending, that your orders may be such, as may tend to conciliate the mind of the Nabob, and to remove the apprehension of any future encroachments on his dominions."

Governor General. — I shall let the opinion which Mr. Francis has quoted, pass without a comment. I find it to be a part of a letter addressed by me singly, to the Court of Directors, and I do not believe that any person who reads it with a candid attention, will find it inconsistent with my present opinion. I desire that the whole paragraph may be added, after the quotation made of it by Mr. Francis. — viz.

"You will receive, in our proceedings of the 6th of June, a copy of the new treaty which has been concluded with the Nabob Asoph-ul-Dowla. You are already acquainted with my opinion, that our engagements with the late Vizier * were equally binding upon us in regard to his successor; and, consequently, that we could not with justice make any further demands upon him; and you will find by our consultations,

"That this was so strongly the idea of the Nabob Asoph-ul-Dowla, that for some time he seemed resolved, rather to dispense with the assistance of our army, than to submit to new terms. Although, therefore, upon more mature consideration of his inability to maintain himself without our support, the necessity of his affairs has obliged him to acquiesce, I doubt not but he is at heart dissatisfied at the measures which have been taken; and the express limitation of the present engagement to his life, will naturally encourage an opinion, that upon his death we shall

* Alluding to the treaty of Benaras, in September 1773.

make

make still further demands. As, however, the treaty which has been concluded is very advantageous to the Company, it is my wish that it may be confirmed by your honourable Court; but I take the liberty of recommending, that your orders may be such as may tend to conciliate the mind of the Nabob, and to remove the apprehension of any future encroachments on his dominions. For these purposes, I submit the propriety of your giving peremptory instructions to your administration in Bengal, to be particularly attentive to support and befriend him; *to maintain him in the possession of the Rohilla country, without making the demands upon him, to which you are entitled by the 7th article; and that, in case of his death, the present treaty shall be confirmed with his successor: and to make known these orders to the Nabob. I recommend this with the greater confidence, as it is so entirely consistent with the tenor of your former commands, and particularly the second paragraph of your instructions to the commissioners, of the 15th of September 1769, wherein you direct them to make known to the powers in India, that it is by no means the intention of the Company to encroach upon their neighbours; but that they are determined to confine their views to the revenue of Bengal, and their present possessions *.* To maintain the Nabob in the possession, seems necessary indeed to enable him to make his stipulated payments to the Company; and I am persuaded, that the knowledge of our resolution to do so, will alone be sufficient to effect the purpose, as no power of

* Yet, how generally and openly has Mr. Hastings disobeyed the very commands which he thus pointedly quotes and refers back, for their future government.

Hindostan

Hindustan will in that case venture to invade it.

Mr. Barwell.—I confess I do not understand how an acquiescence can be given to the Governor General's motion, and the principle on which it is made denied. Such an acquiescence doth, in fact, assert all that is advanced in the letter proposed to be written to our resident, and to be urged to the Nabob, to be false, and yet to authorise the falsity. The proposed letter asserts, that he stands engaged to our government to maintain the English armies, that have been formed for the protection of his dominions: and that it is *our* part, not *his*, to determine in what manner, and at what time, these shall be reduced or withdrawn; that this right is in our government; and that the Nabob cannot dismiss any part of our troops without our leave, I affirm, upon the very principle on which we undertook the defence of his dominions, at his own request. A principle understood at that time by Mr. Francis, and acquiesced in by every other member of the Council. The subject was introduced to us by the following letter from Mr. Bristow.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Bristow, recorded in Consultation the 29th of November 1775.

“I addressed the honourable Board on the 6th instant; since which the Nabob having maturely weighed the bad consequences which will inevitably ensue, if order be not introduced into his army, he requests of me to apply to the honourable Board for their assistance in effecting this very important measure.

“ The

“ The mode he particularly points out, is to beg the favour of the honourable Board to furnish him with English officers to fix battalions of Sepoys, as well as for the corps of artillery and cavalry in proportion ; which would at all times be a sufficient cheque on his other troops, and serve to strengthen his government. He has not mentioned his desire for any particular arrangement of this corps, which he submits entirely to the consideration of the Board, and engages to have the pay regularly discharged.

“ The honourable Board are best able to judge of the expediency of this measure ; I humbly conceive, it would be greatly to the advantage of the Company, as a very considerable force would be hereby obtained ; for although this corps is to be paid by the Nabob, and maintained for the support of his government, yet it may be subordinate to the honourable Board, whenever they may please to make it so ; at the same time, that order and regularity will be thus introduced, the Nabob will be disabled from forming projects to the detriment of the Company ; and, in case of accidents, the succession will be easily secured in the line the honourable Board may judge the most adviseable for the peace of Hindostan, which, of all other points, is the most material, as an ambitious and ill-disposed prince in the possession of these Soubas (collecting above three crôres of rupees a year, and maintaining a hundred thousand fighting men) might prove dangerous to the Company's existence.”

Conformably to the foregoing letter, the Board's resolutions were dispatched to Mr. Bristow, as follows.

Extract

Extract of a Letter to Mr. Bristow, in Consultation the 29th of November, 1775.

"We have received your letter of the 7th inst. At present we have only to signify our approbation in general, of the system you have proposed for curbing the refractory spirit of the Nabob's troops, and introducing regularity in his army, by the appointment of British officers. In a few days we shall consider the subject, and form such arrangements as may be necessary for this purpose, which we shall immediately communicate to you, together with our sentiments upon the plan of regulations proposed by Murtiza Cawn, which we have ordered to be translated."

By this we adopted, what Mr. Bristow recommended, and reserved to ourselves the future arrangements that might be proposed for such troops. The subject was again taken up in consultation on the 14th December 1775; and General Clavering, agreeably to this principle, delivered himself in the following words :

"I beg leave to offer my opinion, that the assistance to be given to the Nabob of Oude, should be strictly confined to his request; that is to say, to six battalions of infantry, and to a proportion of cavalry and artillery agreeably to this requisition. I take the liberty to offer my idea on the formation of such a body of troops as he seems to require. That the infantry consist of 4,200 men, divided into six battalions, each to consist of 700 men, and two battalions to form one regiment; the regiments to be commanded by captains, and the battalions by lieutenants, aided by a cadet, as an adjutant and quarter-master; and that, as the Company now possess a great number
of

of supernumerary black officers, that a proper proportion of them be allowed to each battalion. I think that one Company of artillery, consisting of 100 men, will be sufficient for one regiment, and to be attached to it, commanded by a lieutenant. According to this plan, there will be required three captains to command the three regiments, six lieutenants to command the six battalions, and six cadets to be quarter-masters and adjutants, and three lieutenants for the artillery. The cavalry, I think, should consist of six regiments of 600 men each, divided into six troops and three squadrons; this body will then consist of 3,600 men. I would recommend that each regiment be commanded by a captain, and each squadron by a lieutenant appointed to command two troops, which will then consist of 100 men each; and that an ensign be appointed to act as adjutant and quarter-master to each regiment. The whole corps, amounting to 8,100 men, will be, I conceive, fully sufficient for the defence of the Douab and the Rohilla country for the present, and will be as many as the Nabob will find funds to pay. If any member of this board shall think that this corps is too great, or too little, it may be easily reduced or augmented by the same proportions."

"Agreed to the plan proposed by General Clavering, for regulating the troops of the Nabob Asoph-ul-Dowla, by the appointment of English officers to his army, and to recommend to him the reduction proposed by the Governor General." The recommendation of the Governor General is, that he be desired to dismiss a great part of the useless rabble which he now keeps in his pay; and still to shew this principle more strongly influencing the board, General Clavering follows the resolution,

resolution, by recommending in addition, that the Nabob be also advised to employ English officers upon the same system, to command his body-guard, and any increased number of forces that he may find it necessary to take into his service, beyond the proposed establishment. These resolutions are followed by another on the 18th of December 1775, in these words, "Resolved also, that this board reserves to itself the right of recalling the whole or any part of these officers allotted to the Nabob's service, whenever it may be thought necessary." When this measure took place, the government of Oude was in the utmost distraction, owing to the causes that are enumerated in the representations received at that time. The question simply now is, whether we shall allow the Nabob to revert to a system which was attended with such pernicious effects, as to risk the overthrow of his government; or, whether we shall adhere to the policy that influenced us to step forth, and to take charge of the military force of his country? The Nabob's ability to pay the English establishments I cannot question, while I have before me the letter of Mr. Bristow, which states his revenue at three crores of rupees, and the estimated demand upon him by the Company, as stated by our resident, amounts *only* to 136,12,188:12; and this sum is not a yearly rent charge, but includes articles that ought to have been paid by the Nabob, so long since as in the residency of Mr. Bristow at his court, viz.—The balance of the debt due to the Company, 20,60,688:1:9; the donation to the army, ten lacks; and the private debts contracted with the officers of his army in that period, 7,59,109. These, taken from the gross

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amount, would reduce the current demand of the year to 97,92,471:10 rupees.

I regard the forces paid by the Nabob of Oude as part of a large military establishment, totally independent upon the Company. Policy will neither allow us to reduce our own strength, nor to increase, independent of it, that of a prince who, with such a revenue as he possesses, might become a formidable enemy. As the difficulties of the Soubah of Oude compelled him to put the military force of the country into the hands of our government, without any stipulation whatever, or any reservation of right in himself to resume it into his own hands, it would be a breach of the duty we owe to the nation, to yield up so great a portion of its real strength. I therefore most heartily concur in the Governor General's motion; and, without any reserve, adopt all the reasoning on which he made and defended it.

Mr. Francis.—Mr. Bristow's letter, I presume, contains the best reasons that occurred to him in support of the measure, and such as he thought most likely to recommend it to our approbation. But neither doth he any where suppose, that the Vizier was bound to maintain the corps under British officers as long as we thought proper, without reserving to himself the power of dismissing them; nor would any private opinion of our resident, communicated only to us, if in reality it had only amounted to the meaning ascribed to it by Mr. Barwell, constitute an obligation upon the Vizier. The question is, whether there does exist between the Vizier and this government any specific stipulation, by which he is bound to maintain

maintain the troops in question, as long as we think proper? If there does, I am totally unacquainted with it.

Governor General.—I must beg leave to add a word or two in answer to this last minute. When the board formally adopted the *reasoning** of Mr. Bristow, it becomes their own, and I presume they are bound by it. If it be true, which may be granted, that there is no specific stipulation, by which the Nabob is bound to maintain the troops as long as we think proper—neither is there any specific stipulation, by which we are bound to disband them, or take their pay upon ourselves, at any instant in which he shall think proper to demand it: and this I take to be the point immediately appertaining to the question.

Approved the draught of a letter to Mr. Purling, and agreed, that it be wrote to him accordingly.

Agreed.—That the Governor General be requested to write a letter on this occasion to the Vizier—the following draught of which is accordingly prepared and approved.

To the Nabob of Oude.

“I have received your Excellency’s letter, informing me (*recapitulate the contents of the letter*) I have likewise seen a letter from your Excellency to Mr. Purling, the resident at your court, to the same effect.

It is a cause of equal concern and surprize to me, that you should object or hesitate to grant tuncaws for the charges of an establishment

* Perhaps the *plan* without the *reasoning*.

which was formed at your own particular solicitation, for the defence of Rohilcund and the Donab, at a juncture when your ancient and natural enemies the Marrattas are actually in arms, and ready to enter your dominions upon the first opening which shall be given them; nothing in my opinion will deter them from it, but the presence of a formidable and well-regulated body of troops to oppose them. The dangerous consequences of their entering your country, and finding it in a defenceless condition, are too obvious and striking for me to mention; yet this must certainly be the case, if the Company's forces allotted to its protection be withdrawn or disbanded. You are not to imagine, because you have enjoyed an uninterrupted season of peace for some years past, that you have no enemies to interrupt you, and may therefore rest in security, without the expence of maintaining the force. On the contrary, it is to their power that you owe this tranquillity. And the neighbouring states, whose annual incursions and ravages in the territories of your late father of blessed memory were the cause of the Company's troops being first applied for, and stationed in your dominions, to repel them, will not fail to disturb you again, as soon as this bulwark is removed, and the nakedness of your country shall invite them. Exclusive of this important consideration, I think it proper to inform your Excellency, that I understand a mutual obligation between us to have been implied in the formation and maintenance of this establishment. The Company are bound, on the one hand, to protect your dominions by its means; and you are bound, on the other, to defray the charges of it. While these terms, are complied with on both sides, neither

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has a right to complain. But you could never have supposed, when you applied to us to appoint this force for your service, that the Company would be at the pains to raise and discipline so large a body of men, and to augment their establishment by the addition of such an extraordinary number of officers as were necessary to command them, if they were liable to be burthened with the sole weight and expence of this force, by a sudden resolution on your part to discharge them, without previous and timely notice given to us, and our consent received; and this too at such a distance from the Company's possessions, as the countries in which they are now stationed.

I am convinced, that a resolution so pernicious to the real interests of your government, so repugnant to the intimate connection which subsists between us, and so dangerous in the end, both to your possessions and the Company's, cannot have been suggested to you by any but secret enemies to your state; and that, on a mature consideration of the case, this advice will appear to you as insidious as it does to me. I therefore recommend to you in the strongest manner, not only to shun the evil councils of such false friends, but to dismiss them from your service and confidence, as unworthy of both. I beg you to consider, that it is equally my inclination and interest, to endeavour to provide for the support of your government, and the defence of your dominions against the power of invasion of a foreign enemy. For this purpose, General Coote has thought it adviseable to visit the different stations of the army in your country; and he will be constantly attentive to take means for your security, while your dependence is placed on the Company's alliance and assistance

assistance: but if you are determined to withdraw yourself from both, and to dissolve the union which has so long subsisted between your family and this government, I expect that sufficient time and notice of your intention be given, to prevent our being involved in troubles, from the hasty execution of it. I cannot consent to your dismissing the Company's troops at such a distance from home, and at such a crisis; nor can I at present agree to recall them. As much time at least must be given to dispose of this force, when you shall have no further occasion for their services, as was allowed for the raising of it. I therefore request, that you will attend to the representations of Mr. Purling, who has been ordered again to apply to you, in the name of this government, for tuncaws for the necessary disbursements of the current year. And although your revenues have suffered a diminution by the unfortunate failure of the harvest, yet I am persuaded, that there will be sufficient, with œconomy and attention, to answer every service required from them; and that you will therefore chearfully comply with the demand which Mr. Purling is ordered to make. At all events, the defence of your country is the first object to be attended to, and the regular payment of a well-disciplined body of troops is indispensably necessary for this end. Add to this, that your engagements to the Company are of such a nature, as to oblige me to require and insist on your granting tuncaws for the full amount of their demands upon you for the current year, and on your reserving funds sufficient to answer them, even should the deficiency of your revenues compel you to leave your own troops unprovided for, or to disband a part of them, to enable you to effect it."

Agreed.

Agreed. — That a copy of these papers be transmitted to the Commander in Chief, with the following letter:

“To Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B.
Commander in Chief, &c. &c.

“Sir,

“In a letter which we received from Mr. Purling, under date the 19th ult. we are informed of the Vizier's refusal to grant tuncaws for the expences of the Company's forces, allotted to the defence of his dominions in Rohilcund and the Douab, for this year. As we cannot, by any means, consent to this ill-timed and sudden dismissal of that part of our establishment, we have written letters to the Nabob and Mr. Purling, of which we inclose copies for your information. — We request that you will add your personal influence to the arguments we have urged to the Nabob, and assist with your endeavours to give effect to the application which will be made to him by Mr. Purling.

“We are, with esteem, &c.”
“Fort William,
19th Dec. 1779.”

F I N I S.

Agreed.

ATTESTED

T. E. A. V. E. L.

Witness my hand and seal this 1st day of June 1864.

EUROPEAN AGENCIES

OF THE

AMERICAN

REPUBLIC

OF THE

UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA

AND

THE

WEST INDIES

AND

THE

AFRICA

AND

THE

EUROPEAN

AGENCIES

OF THE

AMERICAN

REPUBLIC

OF THE

UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA



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